

ORIGEN'S RHETORIC

by

James Lester Mason

A Dissertation Presented to the
FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(Speech)

August 1969

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
UNIVERSITY PARK
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90007

This dissertation, written by

JAMES LESTER MASON

*under the direction of h. is Dissertation Com-
mittee, and approved by all its members, has
been presented to and accepted by The Gradu-
ate School, in partial fulfillment of require-
ments for the degree of*

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Charles S. Mayo

Dran

Date August 1969

DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

Walter L. Fisher

Chairman

John B. Orr

James H. McBeth

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of the Problem	7
The Research Plan and Review of Literature	8
Justification of the Study	10
II. ANCIENT RHETORICAL THOUGHT	17
Classical Rhetoric	18
Plato	23
Stoic Rhetoric	24
Sophistic Rhetoric	27
Christianity and Rhetoric	29
III. ORIGEN'S DEVELOPMENT AS A RHETORICIAN	46
Origen's Family	46
Alexandria, Origen's Home	49
Origen's Education	51
Origen, the Teacher	54
Foundational Tenets of Origen	57
Influence of Leading Theorists	61
Summary	75
IV. ORIGEN'S RHETORICAL THOUGHT	85

CHAPTER	PAGE
Definition and Subject Matter of Rhetoric .	86
Invention	87
Organization	98
Style	103
Delivery	111
Ethos	113
Audience Adaptation	116
Rhetoric's Moral Responsibility in Society	120
The Listener in the Rhetorical Process . .	122
Summary	124
V. ORIGEN'S PLACE IN ANCIENT RHETORIC	137
The Concept of Rhetoric	137
Canons of Rhetoric, Invention	139
Organization	142
Style, Delivery, Memory	145
Rhetoric and Art	149
Ethics	149
Summary	150
VI. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	160
Summary	160
Conclusions	170

	PAGE
Suggested Additional Studies	174
BIBLIOGRAPHY	180
APPENDICES	204
Letter of Origen to Gregory	204
Selections from the Oration and Panegyric Addressed to Origen	210

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

No history of the transition from non-Christian to Christian rhetoric is available except for a few articles and some brief references in the histories of the period. These writings suggest that St. Augustine was principally responsible for bridging the gap from classical to Christian rhetoric. Baldwin, for example, asserted that Augustine "begins rhetoric anew."¹ Clark said that De Doctrina Christiana gave Christian preaching its greatest impetus,² and Murphy demonstrated that it was Augustine who clearly influenced such rhetoricians as Rabanus Maurus in the ninth century, Alan de Lille in the twelfth, and others.³

Examination of the life, writings, and times of Origen indicated that he held rhetorical views in marked contrast to those of the sophists and in line with those of the major classical writers such as Aristotle. Many of his rhetorical precepts appear in the writings of St. Augustine. Accordingly, this study was undertaken to discover Origen's development as a rhetorician, his rhetorical tenets, and the similarities and differences between his rhetorical

thought and the thought of those contemporary with him.

Although virtually unnoticed in the discipline of rhetoric, Origen is well-known in other fields of study. Erasmus declared that one page of Origen taught him more Christian philosophy than ten of Augustine.⁴ Patrologist, Altaner, considered Origen "the greatest theologian of the Greek church, even in his lifetime."⁵ Origen's scholarly achievements were so widely known that even Julia Mammaea, Emperor Alexander Severus' mother, called Origen to lecture at Antioch (218-222 A.D.).⁶ Jerome esteemed Origen as a "teacher of the church second only to the Apostle."⁷ Longinus, a former student of Origen, listed him and certain other scholars as "far more intelligent than any of their contemporaries."⁸ Broadus, the homiletician, indicated that Origen was the first to make sermons true discourses by going beyond loosely connected observations.⁹

The significance of Origen's rhetoric will be better understood if seen in comparison and contrast with the major rhetorical developments of his age. Rhetorical works between the fifth century B.C. and the fourth century A.D. tended to treat two basic questions: how to discover or discern what was to be said in a given case and how should this subject matter be adapted to the needs and demands of

a given audience.¹⁰ Rhetorical treatises were usually organized according to the Hellenic canons--invention, arrangement, expression, memory, and delivery--or to the conventional parts of a speech--proem, narration, confirmation, refutation, peroration.¹¹ Speeches were consistently classified in terms of the place where they would be given, that is, deliberative, judicial, and ceremonial.¹² Characteristically, rhetorical works of this period were committed to persuasion as the end of speaking, to the use of proofs--ethos, pathos, and logos--as the means of persuasion to be used in any given case.¹³ These traits of perspective and organization were true of the mainstream of classical rhetoric. St. Augustine is given credit for reviving the spirit of this orientation toward "giving effectiveness of truth"; this was the thrust of Origen's view of rhetoric as well.

These theories were taught in the schools of Greece and Rome where rhetoric held a significant place in their educational systems.¹⁴ Between the third and first century B.C., rhetoric was the most important art to be studied, more significant than grammar and logic, the other two components of the trivium. At about age fourteen a boy was sent to a school of rhetoric to engage in theory and

practice of public speaking. Such instructions might continue throughout his lifetime.¹⁵ This system moved to Rome where the most noteworthy change was "that they taught Latin as well as Greek grammar, literature, and rhetoric."¹⁶

In the Roman Empire, especially starting from the second century A.D., the teaching of rhetoric began to show signs of "artificiality due to specialization on form and style, as opposed to content."¹⁷ Rhetoric remained "the most valued part of higher education, and teachers of rhetoric were endowed at many of the great centres of population. In later centuries the movement was . . . specially associated with paganism."¹⁸ Describing the educational scene, Origen wrote:

Large numbers commence with literature and learn by heart the verses of the poets, the plays of the comedy, the long imaginary and terrifying stories of tragedy, the long and varied books of history. Then they go to rhetoric and acquire all the vapours of public speaking. After this they come to philosophy, study logic, investigate the steps of the syllogism, poke into geometrical measurement, examine the laws of the heavenly bodies and the courses of the stars, and do not even leave out music.¹⁹

Increasingly, rhetoric moved toward an exercise performed for its own sake. Baldwin observed that sophistic teaching arose "from the general aim of virtuosity Individual triumphs were not so much . . . individuality,

as outstanding exhibitions of skill in working out a pattern" of the teacher's assignments.²⁰ He said that sophistic rhetoric was "largely an oratory of themes."²¹ Students were taught to become "oratorical acrobats."²² The sophistic teaching of rhetoric demonstrated "what must become of rhetoric without the urgencies of matter and motive."²³

Clarke detailed the disrepair that came to rhetoric during the second sophistic, which was dominant during the life of Origen:

Rhetoric as statesmanship was dead; rhetoric as persuasion was dead, too, for a rhetorician . . . had nothing of which to persuade his hearers. There remained only rhetoric as the art of words, a laboured and feeble art by now, but faintly preserving, in an age that cared little for such things, something of the old Greek love of beauty The rhetorician found that it was enough for him if he makes his case effectively or treats his theme with elegance and eloquence Whether the words made sense or nonsense, were true or false, was indifferent. Such was the oratory of the Greek second sophistic.²⁴

The skilful exhibitions of the sophists were too impotent "to guide either the state or the individual. The only force that could revive rhetoric . . . was a new motive."²⁵

The new motive was Christianity and Origen was one of the earliest Christian figures to adapt rhetoric to Christian purposes. However, his efforts were in conflict

with the views of most Christian leaders of his day who warned against venerating pagan literary works; those works might be a "virtual gallery of sin" in their parade of "man-like gods."²⁶

There were those in the church, however, who began to see that Greek rhetoric, philosophy, and other disciplines must be used to make the Christian message persuasive to the educated classes. Ecclesiastical leaders had to learn to use Greco-Roman insights "as being ancillary to Christianity."²⁷ Origen and Augustine reasoned that the church was justified in using non-church sources even as Israel used Egyptian resources to build the house of God.²⁸ Clarke noted:

There was a sense in which Christianity can be called a rhetorical religion. The massive works of the Latin Fathers show us that a Christian leader in the early centuries was a writer and speaker, teacher, controversialist, letter writer, preacher, one who used to the full the written and spoken word. The Fathers did all this as a matter of course; they had been brought up in pagan schools, had in many cases taught rhetoric. They had learnt the art of persuasion and self-expression, and this art they used to the full in the service of their religion.²⁹

Needless to say, Origen's views on rhetoric differed radically from that of the sophistic teachers of his age.

Origen lived during a critical juncture in the development of rhetoric. It had been a discipline of prime

importance in higher education. It had received its finest theoretical statement in the writings of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian. But by his time rhetoric had largely atrophied to an art of mere display. With the loss of democracy and its privileges of advocacy and argument, rhetoric had become largely a demonstration of verbal ingenuity. Rhetoric was revived by the infusion of Christian thinking. Origen, therefore, as an early exponent of the use of non-Christian learning, including rhetoric, has considerable interest for the historian of rhetoric.

Statement of the Problem

This study sought to fill in one segment of the "number of major gaps"³⁰ in the history of medieval rhetoric. It focused on providing answers to these questions: what were the dominant characteristics of rhetorical theory and teaching during the classical period (fifth century B.C. to fifth century A.D.); what life influences were significant in Origen's development as a rhetorician; what were Origen's rhetorical precepts and practices; how did his rhetorical views relate to the major views of his age?

Chapter two outlines the rhetoric of the classical period as seen in the main current of rhetoricians:

Aristotle, Isocrates, Cicero, and Quintilian. Next, the rhetorical viewpoints of Plato, the sophists, the Stoics, and the Christian viewpoint prior to Origen are outlined. Chapter three is concerned with the discovery of Origen's development as a rhetorician. Chapter four details Origen's rhetorical precepts; whereas, chapter five compares and contrasts Origen's place in the evolution of rhetoric. The final chapter is devoted to summary and conclusions.

The Research Plan and Review of Literature

The research method was historical. The primary works of Origen were examined to determine his rhetorical views. Then numerous other writings were consulted in order to understand and compare the views of Origen and the ancient rhetoricians.

The following libraries were consulted: The University of Southern California, Henry E. Huntington, Claremont Schools, Stanford University, Fuller Theological Seminary, The University of California at Los Angeles and Berkeley, Luther Theological Seminary and Bethel Seminary of St. Paul, The University of Minnesota, and many others. Card catalog copies were secured from all of the above libraries as well as the Library of Congress and the British Museum to

ascertain the extant works by and about Origen.

An extensive bibliography was compiled of both primary and secondary works by and about Origen. Most of the extant works by Origen were translated into English. These are: The Philocalia of Origen, Selections from the Commentaries and the Homilies of Origen, Contra Celsum, On First Principles, On Prayer and Exhortation to Martyrdom, Letter from Origen to Gregory, Origen to Africanus, Dialogue with Heraclides, The Song of Songs, Commentary on the Gospel of John, and Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew. Migne's Patrologiae Graecae, a ten volume set of Origen's extant works in Latin and Greek, were found in the Hoose Library at the University of Southern California and Luther Theological Seminary in St. Paul. Translations of works in Latin and French were examined with the aid of colleagues from those language departments. The secondary works are almost wholly devoted to the critical analysis of the philosophical and theological tenets of Origen.

The survey of the literature also revealed that no rhetorical studies have been reported on Origen except Corts' recent and useful study on the Alexandrian's Contra Celsum alone. Corts projected that a thorough "study of his /Origen's/ theory of preaching would bear fruitful

results, since, in some respects, he appears to have voiced many of the same thoughts as were later advanced by Augustine, but the latter, enjoying a less controversial place in church history, has obtained the bulk of the attention."³¹

Justification of the Study

Writers on the rhetorical theory of the Middle Ages seemed unaware of Origen's influence on the theory of the period. Caplan, for instance, recognized certain rhetorical forces of the Middle Ages to which Origen contributed significantly, but did not consider Origen's influence in the process. He held that the Middle Ages are to be credited with inventing the thematic sermon.³² Origen brought the theme to sermon-making; he was "the greatest single force in it [the sermon]."³³ Again Caplan held that "the widest field for rhetoric in the Middle Ages was in preaching . . . [for] the winning of souls to God."³⁴ Though unobserved by Caplan, Origen held that same goal to be the precise function of Christian rhetoric.³⁵ In his search for inventional sources of the Middle Ages, Caplan missed Origen altogether.³⁶ In 1929 Caplan did note, however, that "Origen . . . firmly fixed the nature of scriptural

exegesis for succeeding generations."³⁷

Other scholars have also tended to miss the significance of Origen. McKeon lamented the fact that "scholarly labors have reconstructed only a brief and equivocal history for rhetoric during the Middle Ages."³⁸ He did not mention Origen. Robertson mistakenly attributed the establishment of the "spiritual interpretation of Scripture to Augustine;³⁹ the present study seeks to demonstrate that it was Origen who established the interpretative system for the invention of the sermon. Murphy called for more studies in medieval rhetoric. He claimed:

There are a number of major gaps in our knowledge of the ways in which medieval man learned to write and to speak. It is not enough to say that the trivium taught him these things We assume all too often that the Middle Ages was culturally homogeneous to such an extent that we can safely generalize five hundred years of living practice from any one example.⁴⁰

Although Murphy noted the influence of Augustine and others in the debate about the "Christianization" of pagan rhetoric, he only referred the reader to an earlier consideration of the debate about a Christian rhetoric in Danielou's Origen.⁴¹ In his outline for the study of the arts of discourse in the Middle Ages, he left a gap between classical rhetoricians and Augustine.⁴² Later, in noting

the genesis of medieval rhetoric, especially Ars Praedicandi, Origen is still unrecognized as a major contributor to rhetoric.⁴³ The remaining rhetorical studies on the Middle Ages were oblivious to Origen. Even Baldwin's Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic ignored the name of Origen though he observed that the Alexandrian's system of allegory was a "habit of exposition" in the Middle Ages.⁴⁴ Consequently, this study on Origen is meant to provide a missing chapter in the history of rhetoric.

¹ Charles S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (Gloucester, Mass., 1959), p. 51.

² Donald L. Clark, Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education (Morningside Heights, N.Y., 1959), p. 40.

³ James J. Murphy, "Saint Augustine and the Debate About a Christian Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech XLVI (1960), pp. 400ff.

⁴ Origen, "On Prayer and Exhortation to Martyrdom," Ancient Christian Writers, trans. John J. O'Meara, ed. Johannes Quasten and Joseph C. Plumpe (Westminster, Maryland, 1954), XIX, 7.

⁵ Berthold Altaner, Patrology, trans. Hilda C. Graef (New York, 1961), p. 224.

⁶ Altaner, p. 224.

⁷ Origen, "On Prayer and . . .," XIX, 7. The "Apostle" is probably Saint Paul.

⁸ René Cadiou, Origen: His Life at Alexandria, trans. John A. Southwell (pseud.). (St. Louis, 1944), p. 186.

⁹ John A. Broadus, Lectures on the History of Preaching (New York, 1896), p. 56.

¹⁰ Cicero, De Inventione, trans. H.M. Hubbell in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), p. 19.

¹¹ Cicero, pp. 19, 41.

¹² Cicero, p. 17.

¹³ Aristotle, Rhetoric, trans. W. Rhys Roberts (New York, 1954), pp. 24, 25, 90.

¹⁴ Clark, pp. 64-65.

¹⁵ George Kennedy, The Art of Persuasion in Greece (Princeton, N.J., 1963), p. 7.

¹⁶Clark, p. 59. cf. Quintilian, On the Early Education of the Citizen-Orator, trans. J.S. Watson (Indianapolis, 1965), p. 28. "I . . . think that Greek should take precedence."

¹⁷T.J. Haarhoff, "Education," The Oxford Classical Dictionary, ed. M. Carey (Oxford, 1949), p. 305.

¹⁸G.C. Field, "Sophists," The Oxford Classical Dictionary, ed. M. Carey (Oxford, 1949), p. 848.

¹⁹Origen, Selections from the Commentaries and Homilies of Origen, trans. R.B. Tollinton (London, 1929), pp. 185-186.

²⁰Baldwin, p. 10.

²¹Baldwin, p. 10.

²²Baldwin, p. 12.

²³Baldwin, p. 12.

²⁴M.L. Clarke, Rhetoric at Rome (New York, 1963), pp. 156, 157, 161, 162.

²⁵Baldwin, p. 50.

²⁶Murphy, "Saint Augustine and the Debate . . . ," p. 402.

²⁷Origen, "Letter of Origen to Gregory," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, trans. Allan Menzies (Grand Rapids, 1965), X, 295.

²⁸Origen, "Letter of Origen . . . ," X, 295; St. Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, trans. D.W. Robertson, Jr. (Indianapolis, 1958), p. 75.

²⁹M.L. Clarke, pp. 149, 150.

³⁰James J. Murphy, "The Arts of Discourse 1050-1400," Medieval Studies XXIII (1961), p. 201.

³¹ Thomas Edward Corts, "Origen's Contra Celsum: An Analysis of Early Christian Polemic," (unpublished Master's thesis, Indiana University, 1966), p. 51. Italics mine.

³² Harry Caplan, "Classical Rhetoric and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching," Historical Studies of Rhetoric and Rhetoricians, ed. Raymond Howes (Ithaca, N.Y., 1961), p. 82.

³³ Edwin Charles Dargan, A History of Preaching (Grand Rapids, 1954), I, 48.

³⁴ Caplan, "Classical Rhetoric and . . . ," p. 74.

³⁵ Origen, Selections . . . , p. 175.

³⁶ Harry Caplan, "Rhetorical Invention in Some Medieval Tractates in Preaching," Speculum II (July, 1927), pp. 284, 285, 287.

³⁷ Harry Caplan, "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching," Speculum IV (July, 1929), p. 285.

³⁸ Richard McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," Speculum XVII (January, 1942), p. 1.

³⁹ St. Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, trans. D.W. Robertson, Jr. (Indianapolis, 1958), p. xii.

⁴⁰ Murphy, "The Arts of Discourse 1050-1400," p. 201.

⁴¹ Murphy, "Saint Augustine and the Debate . . . ," p. 410. cf. Jean Daniélou, Origen, trans. Walter Mitchell (New York, 1955).

⁴² Murphy, "The Arts of Discourse 1050-1400," pp. 202, 203. cf. Murphy, "The Medieval Arts of Discourse: An Introductory Bibliography," Speech Monographs XXIX (June, 1962), pp. 71ff.

⁴³ James J. Murphy, "Saint Augustine and Rabanus Maurus, The Genesis of Medieval Rhetoric," Western Speech XXXI (Spring, 1967), pp. 88ff.

⁴⁴Baldwin, pp. 239, 240. The allegorical system
"was seen as well as heard" in sculpture, glass, and
preaching.

CHAPTER II

ANCIENT RHETORICAL THOUGHT

Ancient rhetoric may be characterized as having several major orientations--classical, Platonic, Stoic, sophistic, and Christian. Under the classical division, one would place the works of such theorists and teachers as Aristotle, Isocrates, Cicero, and Quintilian. Plato's views stand in sharp contrast to those expressed in the classical and other divisions. His concept of rhetoric is primarily presented in the Gorgias and the Phaedrus.

Although no Stoics are known chiefly as rhetoricians, such men as Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius held significant ideas on the nature and function of rhetoric. Sophistic rhetoric has two periods, one in Greece (active during the second half of the fifth century), and the one in Rome (second, third, fourth centuries A.D.);¹ in both instances, it was chiefly a pedagogical movement rather than a distinct theoretical position. It may be inappropriate to consider a Christian rhetoric prior to the time of St. Augustine but several of the early church leaders expressed important ideas on rhetoric, none more influential than Origen.

The purpose of this sketch of key thoughts on rhetoric is to provide a better context for the interpretation of the nature and significance of Origen's rhetorical precepts. Each orientation will concern the concept of rhetoric, its subject-matter, the place of the canons, whether rhetoric is art, whether it is ethical, and what is its role in society.

Classical Rhetoric

Classical rhetoricians conceived of rhetoric as verbal art based upon sound knowledge and ethical purpose, which seeks persuasion on matters of forensic, deliberative, and civic concern. Aristotle defined rhetoric as "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion."² Isocrates spoke of the art of discourse as that "source of most of our blessings . . . [and which is] the power to persuade each other and to make clear to each other whatever we desire."³ The Ciceronian definition is comprehensive: "He will be an orator . . . , who, whatever the topic that crops up to be unfolded in discourse, will speak thereon with knowledge, method, charm, and retentive memory, combining with these qualifications a certain distinction of bearing."⁴ Elsewhere, Cicero

defined rhetoric as "eloquence based on the rules of art."⁵ Quintilian preferred to characterize rhetoric as the "science of speaking well. For this definition includes all the virtues of oratory and the character of the orator as well, since no man can speak well who is not good himself."⁶

The subject matter of rhetoric related to the principles by which speakers could analyze topics appropriate for different audience situations, determine a sound, persuasive position, and present it effectively. "The duty of rhetoric," Aristotle explained, "is to deal with such matters as we deliberate upon . . . which seem to present us with alternate possibilities."⁷ These matters are related to justice in the law court, politics in the assembly, and praise and blame in various ceremonies.⁸ Isocrates held that rhetoric was to be employed not in persuasion to impractical theory and absolute truth, but in the ideas that could be put to use. In other words, "likely conjecture about useful things is far preferable to exact knowledge of the useless, and . . . to be superior in important things is of greater worth than to be pre-eminent in petty things that are without value for living."⁹

Cicero agreed with Aristotle that the subject matter

of rhetoric was to be found in the three classes of subjects: "the epideictic ceremonial, the deliberative legislative, and the judicial forensic or court of law."¹⁰ Elsewhere, Cicero widened his concept to include "whatever the topic that crops up to be unfolded in discourse."¹¹ Quintilian maintained a viewpoint similar to Cicero's latter notion. He taught that the subject matter of rhetoric was "composed of everything that comes before the orator for treatment . . . as is confirmed by the practice of everyday speech."¹² The classical rhetorician, therefore, was concerned with subjects of a debatable and uncertain nature; "about things which could not have been and cannot be . . . nobody wastes his time in deliberation."¹³

Classical rhetoricians usually treated the principles governing the discovery, composition, and presentation of ideas in terms of the five arts of rhetoric. They were called invention, arrangement, expression, memory, and delivery. Cicero provided the most influential definition of them:

Invention is the discovery of valid or seemingly valid arguments to render one's case plausible. Arrangement is the distribution of arguments thus discovered in the proper order. Expression or style is the fitting of the proper language to the invented matter. Memory is

the firm mental grasp of matter and words. Delivery is the control of voice and body in a manner suitable to the dignity of the subject matter and the style.¹⁴

Most rhetorical works of the period were organized according to the canons. Clark held that the canons were implicit in Aristotle, and their terminology and analysis were well established in the first century B.C.¹⁵ Ehninger, likewise, confirmed the fact that rhetoric was regularly organized according to the five canons in many of the classical treatises.¹⁶

Classical rhetoricians held that rhetoric is an art; Plato did not. He rejected rhetoric as an art, because it lacked a subject matter peculiar to itself; it was a knack; it aimed at mere persuasion, not instruction in right and wrong; it cared not for justice, only for appearances. Finally, rhetoric did not deal with truth, but probability which only guessed at the truth.¹⁷ Aristotle responded to Plato's position with the argument that speaking could be studied and principles discovered which would explain why "some speakers succeeded through practice and others spontaneously."¹⁸ These principles, systematically arranged, would constitute the art of rhetoric. Isocrates defended rhetoric as an art by urging that it was the peculiar ability which distinguished man from beasts and was the

"source of most of our blessings."¹⁹ He charged that other "arts" could not lay greater claim to the title of art than rhetoric for they were often mere gymnastics of the mind which gave no assistance to human affairs.²⁰ Cicero argued that rhetoric was the highest of arts, for it demanded "subtlety of the logician, the thoughts of the philosopher, a diction almost poetic, a lawgiver's memory, a tragedian's voice, and the bearing almost of the consummate actor."²¹

The issue of whether rhetoric was concerned with truth and ethics, classical rhetoricians tended to concur with Aristotle's views. He held that decisions in human affairs, the province of the rhetorician's art was not a matter of Platonic truth but of weighing probabilities, of "reasoned beliefs," rather than certainties. And, Aristotle maintained, a speaker was not immoral because he spoke; a sophist was known by his "moral purpose," not the fact that he spoke in public.²² Quintilian denied Plato's charges that rhetoric could not be called an art because it was used for both evil and good purposes. Instead of rhetoric's being unconcerned with establishing justice, Quintilian found it to be a self-correcting in that two wise men often take different sides.²³ Case against case, not rhetoric against itself, is involved in a two-sided argument.

Instead of disregarding truth, the rhetorician regularly argues what seems to be true because knowledge is often incomplete.²⁴ Quintilian also urged that "no man can be an orator unless he is a good man"; and truth and honor exceed evil in their persuasive power.²⁵

Classical rhetoricians not only denied that persuasion was not inherently immoral, they contended that the study and practice of rhetoric was a positive social good. Aristotle instructed that it aided discernment of right and wrong; it helped right to prevail over wrong; it assisted public discussion in its reach for the highest probability; and it enabled the individual to defend himself.²⁶

Isocrates taught that rhetoric fostered the unification of society and the fulfilment of the duties of citizenship.²⁷

Cicero implied that the art provided tranquility to the state. He wrote of rhetoric: "In every free nation, and most of all in communities which have attained the enjoyment of peace and tranquility, this one art has always flourished above the rest and ever reigned supreme."²⁸

Plato

Although Plato denied that rhetoric was an art, as it was taught and practiced in his day, he admitted the

possibility that there could be a true rhetoric. Black maintained that Plato did not deny the reality of other theories of rhetoric; "what he denied was their moral efficacy."²⁹ In the Phaedrus, Plato sets forth several constituents of a true rhetoric.³⁰ The first rule of good speaking is that the speaker must "know the truth about the matters of which he is to speak."³¹ Second, terms must be defined to "acquire a clear impression of each class."³² ~~Organization of the discourse is to be~~ ~~like a~~ living being, with a body of its own, as it were, so as not to be headless or footless, composed in fitting relation to each other and to the whole."³³

Three additional constituents of Plato's rhetoric remain. The true rhetorician will understand man; he will "classify the speeches and the souls and will adapt each to the other, showing the causes of the effects produced and why one kind of soul is necessarily persuaded by certain classes of speeches, and another is not."³⁴ Appropriate style and delivery would be selected as the "instruments" by which the soul is affected. Finally, rhetoric would have a high moral purpose which says what is "pleasing to the gods."³⁵

Implicit in these requirements are Plato's views on

the nature and function of rhetoric. Rhetoric, for Plato, would be the art of speaking the truth. A "real art of speaking . . . which does not seize hold of truth does not exist and never will . . . ; except the rhetorician pay proper attention to philosophy he will never be able to speak properly about anything."³⁶ Rhetoric's subject matter would not be confined to justice and politics, but would extend to "all kinds of speaking."³⁷ Although the canons had no formal place in his system of rhetoric, their procedures would be necessary to the performance of his concept of rhetoric. Rhetoric would function to implant justice, to cure the ills of society; the rhetorician would be a physician to the body politic. In serving truth and justice, rhetoric would also serve the "gods."

Stoic Rhetoric

Stoic rhetoric was based on the ideal that plain truth produced its own persuasiveness. Rhetoric was the science of "speaking well in exposition."³⁸ The rhetorician was the "true guide, who when he finds a man wandering, leads him to the right road instead of leaving him with a jibe or an insult Show him the truth and . . . he follows."³⁹ The Stoic subject matter concerned

itself primarily with the principles of making truth clear in the traditional arenas of persuasion--the court, the assembly, and the ceremony.⁴⁰

Invention and style were the only two canons of rhetoric seriously treated and then only by implication. The discovery of sound reasons was of major concern to the Stoics;⁴¹ without dialectic, eloquence was impossible; for dialectic was "a contracted or compressed eloquence."⁴² In essence, dialectic was rhetoric's companion; it provided rhetoric with persuasive truths. Epictetus reasoned: "If you lay a rotten and crumbling foundation, you will not be able to build even a tiny building; the more courses . . . you lay upon it, the quicker it will collapse."⁴³ The Stoic style was noted for its trust in simple truth. Stoics loved ungarnished truths and shunned display as a sinful pleasure; they sought "brevity and simplicity" and avoided "all appeals to the emotions."⁴⁴ Obviously, austerity dominated their standards of style in rhetoric. Five coveted excellences in style included purity of Greek, lucidity, conciseness, appropriateness, and freedom from colloquialisms.⁴⁵ To gain conciseness, for example, Marcus Aurelius advised the speaker to work for brevity which would:

always run to the short way The short way is the natural: accordingly say and do everything in conformity with the soundest reason. For such a purpose frees a man from trouble, and warfare, and all artifice and ostentatious display.⁴⁶

A final word about style, and a note regarding delivery conclude this discussion of the Stoic canons. Cicero and Quintilian pointed out the basic weakness of the Stoic style. Said Cicero, Stoic style is "possibly subtle and . . . penetrating . . . , yet for an orator it is bald, ~~unfamiliar, jarring on the ear of the public; devoid of~~ clarity, fullness, and spirit."⁴⁷ They prided themselves in "subtlety," Quintilian related, but they were "deficient both in fullness and charm of eloquence."⁴⁸ Cicero recalled that plainness had been praised by Rutilius, but the Stoic was condemned at his own trial because he declined "to be defended more eloquently or elaborately than the plain truth of the matter permitted."⁴⁹ No evidence could be found regarding delivery; however, it would be expected that plainness of language would be accompanied by a "stoic" and undecorated delivery.

Stoics believed that rhetoric was an art, holding that eloquence was a "virtue and a form of wisdom."⁵⁰ Their emphasis upon virtue was attuned to Quintilian's conclusion that only good men may speak well.⁵¹ In fact, Clarke held

that Quintilian was influenced by Stoic moral sensitivity.⁵²
 Rhetoric, to the Stoic, was "useful and good as long as it
 was controlled by a responsible, moral orator."⁵³

Sophistic Rhetoric

The term sophist, before Plato wrote his dialogues, referred to any man considered learned. Early sophists were professional teachers whose primary emphasis was on rhetoric.⁵⁴ ~~If Plato was describing the historical Gorgias,~~ the most famous sophists of ancient Greece, then Gorgias held that rhetoric was the "producer of persuasion, and has therein its whole business and main consummation."⁵⁵ However, Protagoras wanted the art of eloquence to be, not an end, but a means whereby wisdom and virtue won in judicial and legislative conflict.⁵⁶ Yet both held the view that truth and justice were relative matters. Sophists have been identified by the speaking of such men as Gorgias rather than the high hopes for rhetoric expressed by Protagoras.

The sophistic rhetorician, by and large, emphasized "the training of /for/ immediate personal effectiveness" in contrast to the classical rhetoricians who urged its use for the "energizing of knowledge and the humanizing of truth."⁵⁷ Isocrates decried those early sophists:

who are much pleased with themselves if after setting up an absurd and self-contradictory subject, they succeed in discussing it in tolerable fashion Still others waste their time in captious disputations that are no entirely useless These men . . . have shown that it is easy to contrive false statements on any subject They ought to give up the use of this claptrap, which pretends to prove things by verbal quibbles, which in fact have long since been refuted, and to pursue the truth, to instruct their pupils in the practical affairs of our government and train to expertness therein.⁵⁸

The art of persuasion survived the corruption of the Greek city-state, and the decay of the Roman Republic. It did not die; but with the decline of the empire, it took on new form. "It lost touch with real life and became an independent self-centered activity, strangely out of touch with the movement of history, yet possessed of a remarkable and persistent vitality."⁵⁹ This era was the second sophistic period, which prevailed during the life of Origen. The school became the theatre of interest; the senate house and the forum were forgotten. The rhetorician, no longer a "pedant theorist," became a "star performer."⁶⁰ To illustrate, Suetonius (born at Rome about 69 A.D.) appeared surprised that one of Cicero's teachers had practiced "declaiming only once a week."⁶¹ The teacher would often listen to the declamations of the students; then he would rise to declaim in order to show what heights

the students might reach.⁶²

Clark summarized the corrupting influence of the second sophistic:

Not only did poetry and oratory suffer from the same bad taste in straining for brilliance of style, but in practice . . . , both poetry and oratory suffered for lack of structure. The poets paid so much attention to style that they neglected plot construction and the vivid realization of character and situation. The orators paid so much attention to style that they lost the art of composing sentences, and of arranging sound arguments in such a way as to persuade an audience. In effect there was such a tendency for the late Latin writers to ignore those elements of structure and movement wherein poetry and oratory most differ, and stress unduly the elements of a style wherein they have the most in common.⁶³

The second sophistic might be held as an epitaph to remind us of what happens when rhetoric becomes an end in itself, and loses its content and moral purpose.

Christianity and Rhetoric

Early Christian "rhetoric" must be understood in the context of the church's reaction to Greco-Roman learning. Rhetoric was first conceived, without being formalized in text or teaching, as an art of discovering and presenting the truth of the Scriptures.⁶⁴ It was, in the words of Origen, the art of presenting "what makes the hearers' salvation . . . , self-control . . . , and sound conduct

... /so they/ may succeed in obtaining what God has promised.⁶⁵ The subject matter of Christian rhetoric would be the truth of the gospel as found in Scripture with confirmation by tradition, observation, and sound reasons.⁶⁶

Greek and Latin church fathers held no uniform attitude toward the higher education of non-Christians. For obvious reasons, however, considerable anxiety was expressed over the use of pagan literature. For example, had not ~~that literature attacked~~ the Christians; had not prose and poetry regularly alluded to polytheism and sexual activity inconsistent with the precepts of the church? In rhetoric, many saw a dangerous lure which was without a moral sense. Christian leaders warned continually against sophistry; therefore, it is not surprising to discover church orders which banned contact with heathen learning. For example, the Didascalia Apostolorum read:

Avoid all books of the heathen. For what hast thou to do with strange sayings or laws or lying prophecies which also turn away from the faith them that are young? What is lacking to thee in the word of God, that thou shouldst cast thyself upon these fables of the heathen? If thou wouldst read historical narratives, thou hast the Book of Kings; but if philosophers and wise men, thou hast the Prophets, wherein thou shalt find wisdom and understanding more than that of the wise men and philosophers. And if thou wish for songs, thou hast the Psalms of David; but if thou wouldst read of the beginning of the world, thou hast the Genesis of the great Moses; and if laws and

commandments, thou has the glorious Law of the Lord God. All strange writings, therefore, which are contrary to these, wholly eschew.⁶⁷

After all, Saint Paul had taught that the "wisdom of the world is folly with God;" and he had related: "my speech and my message were not in plausible words of wisdom, but in . . . the Spirit and power, that . . . faith might not rest in the wisdom of men but in the power of God."⁶⁸

Christian reaction to the use of non-Christian materials ranged from acting as if they did not exist, adamant rejection, partial acceptance, or free but discriminating usage. An example of the church's ignoring the Greco-Roman literature is found in the writings incorporated into The Apostolic Fathers of the first and second centuries.⁶⁹ These writers, particularly Ignatius and Polycarp, seemed oblivious to the Greco-Roman literature and world of their time. Saint Justin Martyr, however, (born about 100-110 A.D.) moved freely within the literature of Greece; he seemed oblivious to rhetoric, however, except in his own practice of an adroit argumentation. He honored pagan writers but gave their writings an inferior place to Christian Scripture: "While pondering on his Christ's words, I discovered that his was the only sure and useful philosophy."⁷⁰ He held that wherein non-Christian litera-

ture agreed with the Christian Scriptures they, "by means of the . . . Word which was implanted in them, had a dim glimpse of the truth."⁷¹

Tertullian and Clément of Alexandria were studies in contrast. Tertullian (born about 150 A.D.) was ambivalent toward learning outside the church. He asked:

What have philosopher and Christian in common,--the disciple of Greece and the disciple of heaven . . . ,--the friend and the foe of error,--the man who corrupts the truth, and the man who restores it and proclaims it,--the thief of truth and its guardian?"⁷²

Tertullian was faced with a dilemma. He advised that the Christian child was to be educated in the available pagan schools, but the adult must not go there to learn. The child must "behave like someone who knows he is being given poison" and take good care lest he be affected by the idolatry he meets.⁷³ In contrast, Clément of Alexandria (born about 150 A.D.) lived more comfortably with non-Christian scholarship. He found philosophers, for example, to be convenient validators of his doctrinal arguments. He borrowed gracefully from Plato, Aristotle, Epicharmis, Sophocles, and Euripides.⁷⁴ Justifying the borrowing, he said, "Ought man to do anything besides contemplate the diyinity? I maintain that he ought to contemplate human nature, also, and live as the truth leads him."⁷⁵

Origen shared the ambivalence of many other Christian fathers. Early in his teaching he sold his books written by non-church authors and encouraged others to do so.⁷⁶ After a period of time, however, he decided that Greek philosophy was "ancillary to Christianity," recommending that Christian scholars extract those useful "parts of philosophy of the Greeks" for use in preaching.⁷⁷ Origen was adamant against sophistry, "empty rhetoric which . . . , borders on license."⁷⁸ He maintained throughout his life that the criteria to measure the validity of non-Christian thought came "from no other source but the very words and teaching of Christ," and "that only is to be believed as the truth, which in no way conflicts with the tradition of the church and the apostles."⁷⁹

Quasten likened Origen's influence in the church to Socrates' influence on Greek philosophy. He believed that the school of Alexandria reached its peak under Origen.⁸⁰ Toynbee noted that Origen was one of those who "commended Christianity to the respectful and . . . cultivated Hellenes by deliberately winning recognition for themselves as accomplished Hellenic philosophers."⁸¹ Origen reacted against two destructive influences of his time, namely the isolationary attitude of the church and the rhetoric of the

second sophistic. He saw rhetoric as an instrument which could serve the high purpose of preaching the gospel.

From Origen to Augustine, attitudes toward rhetoric varied. When Cyprian, first a rhetorician, then a bishop at Carthage in the mid-third century, was converted, he "renounced profane letters completely, and for the rest of his life never again quoted a pagan poet, rhetorician, or orator."⁸² Cyprian said: "Let an opulent eloquence be ~~displayed with unrestrained ambition~~ in justice and the assembly, but not in the church:

When speech is concerned with the Lord God, the pure sincerity of speech depends not on the force of eloquence for the arguments in support of faith but on facts. Therefore, receive not eloquent words, but forceful ones, not decked out with cultivated rhetoric to entice a popular audience, but simple words of unvarnished truth for the proclaiming of God's mercy.⁸³

He denied eloquence with precept but not in his own speech.

Lactantius (born about 260 A.D.) also rejected the Greco-Roman culture: "In truth, when they give themselves to perpetual idleness and strive to no virtue and pass all their lives in nothing but eloquence, what should they be considered other than worthless?"⁸⁴ Holding the Stoic view of eloquence, he argued: "It is necessary that the very goodness of the cause should make me eloquent, a cause for the fluent and copious defending of which knowledge of the

divinity and the truth itself suffices."⁸⁵ At one time, Jerome feared that his use of Cicero would incur the fires of hell upon himself; he vowed never again to "possess worldly books or read them."⁸⁶ But he changed his mind.

St. Augustine's On Christian Doctrine was a triumph for serious rhetoric. The work, declared Baldwin, has "historical significance in the early years of the fifth century out of all proportion to its size; for it begins rhetoric anew."⁸⁷ In his book on Christian "rhetoric," Augustine establishes the legitimate relation of Christian and non-Christian learning; with Origen, he instructs the Christian to "borrow from Egypt" things necessary "for the building of the temple of God."⁸⁸ Augustine rejected the idea that rhetoric was inherently evil; the faculty of eloquence was "in itself indifferent."⁸⁹ To deny Christian teaching the armament of rhetoric bordered upon evil. He reasoned: "Since by means of the art of rhetoric both truth and falsehood are urged, who would dare to say that truth should stand in the person of its defenders unarmed against lying?"⁹⁰ Origen and St. Augustine stood together in their plea to "arm" the truth.

The second sophistic had neglected content, but Augustine outlined a rhetoric which joined serious content

with its expression. To sum up On Christian Doctrine,

Augustine explained that

there are two things necessary in the treatment of the Scriptures: a way of discovering those things which are to be understood, and a way of teaching what we have learned Since we have already . . . devoted three books to that one part /discovery/, with the help of God we shall say a few things concerning teaching.⁹¹

Baldwin reasoned that Augustine restores inventio

(discovery) "to its rightful place and gives it a new application to the exegesis of Scripture."⁹² Augustine used Origen's allegorical method as a prime tool for his discovery of the Scripture's message.⁹³

Augustine held that Christian preaching must fulfil all the speaker's tasks of teaching, delighting, and moving.⁹⁴ Style had no virtue as an end in itself. He recommended to preachers that

In all their utterances they should first of all seek to speak so that they may be understood The speaker should not consider the eloquence of his teaching but the clarity of it He who teaches should thus avoid all words which do not teach.⁹⁵

Augustine cautioned, however, that "the listener is to be delighted if he is to be retained;" good style would help to delight the listener.⁹⁶ Still, it is not enough to teach, and delight. The speaker must persuade to action. Here, again, St. Augustine and Origen stand on common ground.⁹⁷

The character of the speaker and his ethical obligation were vital issues in St. Augustine's persuasion. He contended that "the life of the speaker has greater weight in determining whether he is obediently heard than any grandness of eloquence."⁹⁸ The preacher might "benefit many by preaching what they the preachers do not practice; but many more would be benefited if" the speaker practiced his own precepts.⁹⁹ The good man "offers an example to others, and his way of living is . . . an eloquent speech."¹⁰⁰ Similarly, Origen had taught that the most effective preacher was that one whose life most nearly corresponded with the word of God.¹⁰¹ Observing the preacher's ethical obligation, Augustine warned that the greatest deceiver was the one who spoke "so eloquently that falsehood is thought to be true."¹⁰² The popular speaker must beware lest pride cause him to "love to deceive . . . innocent people."¹⁰³ Those who misled the listener, Origen called pirates.¹⁰⁴

Origen's position on rhetoric eventually became the dominant one used by Christian leaders. His position can be seen in the writings of St. Augustine. Origen had helped to safeguard rhetoric as the servant of theology, and as an aid to Bible interpretation.¹⁰⁵ He was one of

the most influential Christians in bringing harmony between Christian and non-Christian learning. Copleston concluded that "the philosophical ideas which Origen adopted were incorporated by him into a Christian setting and framework, so that he may rightly be considered the first great synthetic thinker of Christianity."¹⁰⁶ This study will next direct itself to Origen's preparation and contribution to rhetorical thought. In chapter five, Origen's rhetoric will be related to the various concepts of rhetoric reviewed here.

- ¹ H.I. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity, trans. George Lamb (New York, 1964), p. 78; Charles S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (Gloucester, Mass., 1959), p. 8n.
- ² Aristotle, Rhetoric, trans. W. Rhys Roberts (New York, 1954), p. 24.
- ³ Isocrates, Antidosis, trans. George Norlin in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), II, 339.
- ⁴ Cicero, De Oratore, trans. E.W. Sutton in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), I, 47, 49.
- ⁵ Cicero, De Inventione, trans. H.M. Hubbell in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), p. 15.
- ⁶ Quintilian, The Institutio Oratoria, trans. H.E. Butler in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), I, 315.
- ⁷ Aristotle, p. 27.
- ⁸ Aristotle, p. 32.
- ⁹ Isocrates, Helen, trans. La Rue Van Hook in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), III, 63.
- ¹⁰ Cicero, De Inventione, pp. 15, 17, 19.
- ¹¹ Cicero, De Oratore, I, 47, 49.
- ¹² Quintilian, I, 365.
- ¹³ Aristotle, p. 27.
- ¹⁴ Cicero, De Inventione, pp. 19, 21.
- ¹⁵ Donald L. Clark, Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education (Morningside Heights, N.Y., 1959), p. 69.
- ¹⁶ Douglas Ehninger, "Campbell, Blair, and Whately Revisited," Southern Speech Journal XXVIII (Spring, 1963), pp. 169-170.

¹⁷ Plato, Gorgias, trans. W.R.M. Lamb in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 267, 276, 287, 301, 313, 319.

¹⁸ Aristotle, p. 19.

¹⁹ Isocrates, Antidosis, II, 327.

²⁰ Isocrates, p. 333.

²¹ Cicero, De Oratore, I, 91.

²² Aristotle, p. 24.

²³ Quintilian, I, 341.

²⁴ Quintilian, I, 341.

²⁵ Quintilian, IV, 357.

²⁶ Aristotle pp. 19-30.

²⁷ Isocrates, Antidosis, II, 327.

²⁸ Cicero, De Oratore, I, 23.

²⁹ Edwin Black, "Plato's view of Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech XLIV (Dec. 1958), p. 374. cf. Everett L. Hunt, "Plato and Aristotle on Rhetoric and Rhetoricians," Historical Studies of Rhetoric and Rhetoricians, ed. R.F. Howes (New York, 1961), p. 54. "Plato always considered it /rhetoric/ a false impulse in human thought."

³⁰ Hunt provides a useful outline of Plato's ideal rhetoric. Everett L. Hunt, p. 37, 38.

³¹ Plato, Phaedrus, trans. H.N. Fowler in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), p. 51.

³² Plato, Phaedrus, p. 525.

³³ Plato, Phaedrus, p. 529.

³⁴ Plato, Phaedrus, p. 551.

- 35 Plato, Phaedrus, p. 559.
- 36 Plato, Phaedrus, p. 517.
- 37 Plato, Phaedrus, p. 521.
- 38 George Kennedy, The Art of Persuasion in Greece (Princeton, N.J., 1963), p. 294.
- 39 Epictetus, "The Discourses of Epictetus," The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers, trans. P. E. Matheson, ed. W. J. Oates (New York, 1940), p. 303.
- 40 Kennedy, p. 294.
- 41 J. W. H. Atkins, Literary Criticism in Antiquity (Gloucester, Mass., 1961), I, 183.
- 42 Cicero, Brutus, trans. G. L. Hendrickson in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), p. 269.
- 43 Epictetus, p. 311.
- 44 M. L. Clarke, Rhetoric at Rome (New York, 1963), p. 8.
- 45 Atkins, I, 175.
- 46 Marcus Aurelius, "Meditations," The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers, trans. G. Long, ed. W. J. Oates (New York, 1940), p. 516.
- 47 Cicero, De Oratore, trans. H. Rackham in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), II, 53.
- 48 Quintilian, IV, 397.
- 49 Cicero, De Oratore, I, 163, 165.
- 50 Cicero, De Oratore, II, 53.
- 51 Quintilian, IV, 357.
- 52 Clarke, p. 115.

- 53 Kennedy, p. 293.
- 54 Hunt, p. 21.
- 55 Plato, Gorgias, p. 279.
- 56 Mario Untersteiner, The Sophists, trans. Kathleen Freeman (New York, 1954), p. 70.
- 57 Charles S. Baldwin, Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic (Gloucester, Mass., 1959), p. 247.
- 58 Isocrates, Helen, III, 61, 63.
- 59 Clarke, p. 85.
- 60 Clarke, p. 85.
- 61 Suetonius, On Grammarians, trans. J.C. Rolfe in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1950) II, 407.
- 62 Donald L. Clark, Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance (New York, 1963), p. 39.
- 63 Clark, pp. 41, 42.
- 64 St. Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, trans. D.W. Robertson, Jr. (Indianapolis, 1958), p. 117.
- 65 Origen, Selections from the Commentaries and Homilies of Origen, trans. R.B. Tollinton (New York, 1929), p. 175.
- 66 Origen, On First Principles, trans. G.W. Butterworth (New York, 1966), p. 256.
- 67 "Didascalia Apostolorum," trans. in M.L.W. Laistner, Christianity and Pagan Culture (Ithaca, N.Y., 1951), p. 50.
- 68 I Cor. 3:19; 2:4,5. RSV
- 69 Clement, et al, The Apostolic Fathers, trans. Kirsopp Lake in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), I, II.

- 70 St. Justin Martyr, Dialogue with Trypho, trans. Thomas B. Falls (New York, 1948), p. 150.
- 71 St. Justin Martyr, The Second Apology, trans. Thomas B. Falls (New York, 1948), p. 134.
- 72 Tertullian, Apologeticus, trans. T.R. Glover in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), p. 205.
- 73 Marrou, p. 428.
- 74 Clement, Christ the Educator, trans. Simon P. Wood (New York, 1954), pp. 109, 110, 115.
- 75 Clement, pp. 89, 90.
- 76 René Cadiou, Origen: His Life at Alexandria, trans. John A. Southwell (St. Louis, 1944), p. 25.
- 77 Origen, "Letter from Origen to Gregory," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, trans. Allan Menzies, (Grand Rapids, 1965), X, 295.
- 78 Origen, Selections . . ., p. 175.
- 79 Origen, On First Principles, p. 2.
- 80 Johannes Quasten, Patrology (Westminster, Maryland, 1960), III, 2.
- 81 Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History (London, 1946), V, 366.
- 82 James J. Murphy, "Saint Augustine and the Debate About a Christian Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech XLVI (Dec. 1960), p. 401.
- 83 Cyprian, Treatises, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (New York, 1958), p. 8.
- 84 Lactantius, The Divine Institutes, trans. Mary Francis McDonald (Washington: 1964), p. 204.
- 85 Lactantius, p. 196.

⁸⁶ St. Jerome, Select Letters, trans. F.A. Wright in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 127, 129.

⁸⁷ Charles S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (Gloucester, Mass., 1959), p. 51.

⁸⁸ St. Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, p. 75. cf. Origen, "Letter from Origen to Gregory," X, 295.

⁸⁹ St. Augustine, p. 118.

⁹⁰ St. Augustine, p. 118. cf. Origen, Song of Songs, trans. R.P. Lawson (Westminster, Maryland, 1957), pp. 257, 260, 261.

⁹¹ St. Augustine, pp. 117, 118.

⁹² Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, p. 57.

⁹³ F. Van der Meer, Augustine the Bishop, trans. Brian Battershaw and G.R. Lamb (New York, 1961), p. 445. cf. Berthold Altaner, Patrology, trans. Hilda C. Graef (New York, 1961), pp. 489-490.

⁹⁴ St. Augustine, pp. 136, 137.

⁹⁵ St. Augustine, p. 134.

⁹⁶ St. Augustine, p. 136.

⁹⁷ Origen, The Philocalia of Origen, trans. George Lewis (Edinburgh, 1911), p. 63. cf. Origen, Contra Celsum, trans. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge, Eng., 1953), p. 373.

⁹⁸ St. Augustine, p. 164.

⁹⁹ St. Augustine, p. 165.

¹⁰⁰ St. Augustine, p. 166.

¹⁰¹ Origen, Selections . . ., pp. 196-197.

¹⁰² St. Augustine, p. 121.

103 St. Augustine, p. 72.

104 Origen, Selections . . ., pp. 154, 155.

105 Pierre de Labriolle, History and Literature of Christianity, trans. Herbert Wilson, (New York, 1925), pp. 10, 30, 31.

CHAPTER III

ORIGEN'S DEVELOPMENT AS A RHETORICIAN

Many events in Origen's life helped to equip him to adapt non-Christian rhetoric for the church's use, and to build the necessary bridges to join ancient classical theories of rhetoric to effective Christian preaching. Origen's family background, his early opportunities in his native city of Alexandria, and the challenges he encountered as a popular teacher are explored here. The period covered in 185 to 254 A.D., starting at Alexandria, North Africa and ending in Caesarea of Palestine. The influences of Greco-Roman literature and certain selected figures are also considered. Origen's early life prepared him to speak and teach as a rhetorician for the church.

Origen's Family

Origen was born about 185 A.D. in Alexandria, of parents for whom the ideals and practices of Christianity were the principal concern in life. He was baptized at an early age and soon received, in addition to the ordinary schooling of the time, persistent encouragement to study the

Bible. Bible study made a life-long impression on him. When Origen was seventeen, his father, Leonidas, was martyred under Septimius Severus. Soon after his father's death, the young Origen sought the same fate for himself, but he was hindered when his clothes were hidden. He often wrote or thought about martyrdom.

Though Origen was surnamed Adamantius, the same name as an Egyptian deity, there seems to be no reason to doubt that his parents were Christian at his birth. Crombie believed that Leonidas, Origen's father, was probably one of the many teachers of rhetoric or grammar which abounded in Alexandria.¹ In various ways Origen's father led his son to wrestle with the relationships of rhetoric and Christianity. His father required him to repeat portions of Scripture regularly and taught him Greek philosophy. With this training, Origen developed a spirit of inquiry into the meaning of Scripture.²

Origen was taught to appreciate all truth whether "pagan" or "Christian." He could move easily from the study of philosophical works to contemplation of sacred writ and to seek relationships between them. Most of his predecessors in the church saw non-Christian thought and practice as an enemy of Christian tenets. Origen would use ancient

rhetoric to make the Christian message effective.

Eusebius related that Origen was not satisfied with the plain and obvious meaning of the Scripture, but sought always to penetrate to its deeper significance. He troubled his father by raising difficult questions regarding the sense of certain passages of Scripture.³ The harvest of this inquiry was to be realized in Origen's systematization of the allegorical method to harmonize the Old and New Testaments as well as Greek and Christian thought. Those compatible relationships are delineated where this study compares Origen's thought with that of St. Augustine, particularly. Both saw Israel's use of Egyptian spoils as grounds for the Christian to use non-Christian rhetorical thought and practice.

At Leonidas' death, a Christian lady of wealth, whose name is unknown, opened her home to Origen and helped him to support his mother and six brothers.⁴ After about a year, however, he left the lady of wealth for two reasons. First, he was agitated by what he considered the heretical views of Paul of Antioch, whom the woman had also adopted.⁵ Second, with the financial aid of the wealthy woman, Origen decided to "extend his literary studies and . . . within a short time he became a teacher of grammar."⁶ His teaching

and the sale of his father's books allowed him and his family financial independence. About two years later Origen was chosen to lead the Christian academy where catechumens were prepared for baptism.⁷

Thus, his early experiences in Alexandria were preparing him to use rhetoric in the church. He was being prepared to use the allegorical method in the discovery of his teaching materials. Furthermore, his father's insistent application of Greek philosophy encouraged Origen's use of non-Christian thought.⁸ Later in this chapter attention is given to his teaching experience in the Christian academy. That teaching was to accelerate still further his need to find reconciliation with philosophy and rhetoric. He would adopt a rhetorical system consistent with persuasive Christian teaching and preaching.

Alexandria, Origen's Home

Many forces in the city of Alexandria gave Origen opportunity and preparation to use rhetorical principles. Origen's birthplace was Alexandria, Egypt, 129 miles northwest of Cairo. It was founded and named by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C. and laid out from plans of Dinocrates. Alexandria appears to have attained its greatest prosperity

under the Ptolemies, who made it their capitol. Under the Romans, it was the second city of the empire. In the first century A.D., there were about three hundred thousand free inhabitants as well as a multitude of slaves. One-fourth of the city's building area was covered with temples, palaces, and public buildings, providing opportunity for persuasive interplay of religion, government, education, and influential society. The most conspicuous building group was the famous lighthouse, perhaps four hundred feet high and one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, built on the little island of Pharos. The island was connected with the city by the mile-long Heptastadium tunnel. The Serapeum Temple was built on the island in dedication to Jupiter. The city also commanded one of the chief granaries of Rome and controlled trade with the East. Apart from the commercial importance of Alexandria, it was a great center of learning. When Christianity was introduced in the first century, Origen's city became the seat of Christian learning and orthodox faith. However, the metropolis was frequently torn by bloody religious dissension and heresy. After the third century A.D. Alexandria's importance rapidly declined.

Origen found abundant literature in Alexandria to

shape his thinking and to challenge his Christian training.

By noting Origen's numerous references to the world's literature, one may conclude that the Alexandrian made good use of the city's libraries. Alexandria enjoyed a library which was the richest in the world, having been founded by Ptolemy I, Soter, and fostered by his son.⁹ It was thought to have had as many as 120,000 volumes; with some estimates going up to 700,000 volumes.¹⁰ The library embraced the collected literature of Rome, Greece, India, and Egypt.

The volumes were located largely in the famous museum in the quarter of Alexandria called the Bruchem. The Bruchem section of the library was destroyed by fire, but it was replaced by the collection of Pergamum, which was presented to Cleopatra by Mark Antony. The other part of the library was kept in the Serapeum, the temple of Jupiter Serapis, where it remained until the time of Theodosius the Great (born 346 A.D.). The great library is believed to have been destroyed by fanatical Christians in 391 A.D.¹¹

Origen's Education

Alexandrian schools also influenced Origen's development as a rhetorician. Origen's education there

undoubtedly followed the general classical curriculum described in chapter one, even though he was a Christian. Marrou states: "Never throughout the whole of antiquity, except for a few particular cases, did the Christians set up their own special schools. They simply added their own specifically religious kind of training . . . from the church and family."¹²

There was brilliant intellectual life in Alexandria long before Christianity made its appearance. The museum at Alexandria was a kind of academy in which learned men of every description were maintained at the expense of the state.¹³ It was at Alexandria that Oriental, Egyptian, and Greek culture had risen to a new civilization. Jewish culture also found a congenial soil there. Soon after the founding of the city, Hellenism was born from the mixture of Egyptian, Oriental, Greek, and Jewish influences.¹⁴ The Septuagint, the influential Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible was translated at Alexandria; it constituted the beginning of Jewish-Hellenistic literature. Alexandria was also the home of the great Philo (ca. 20 B.C.), the Jewish Hellenistic writer, who was convinced that the teaching of the Old Testament could be combined with Greek speculation. In the third century A.D. Alexandria had professorial

chairs in all the main branches of philosophy; for example, a Christian scholar, Antolius, held the chair of Aristotelian philosophy.¹⁵ The most famous school of "sacred science," Quasten noted, was at Alexandria.¹⁶ Crombie honored the city by calling it the "mother and mistress of the churches" in the sense of being the nurse and instructor of Christendom.¹⁷

The seed of rhetorical learning and practice found receptive soil at Alexandria. De Faye wrote:

The subjects taught included mathematics, astronomy, natural history, and geography. The Ptolemies organized regular scientific expeditions; there were numerous professorships of rhetoric and literature. In the libraries, students commented on the ancient authors and explained many a text by the allegorical method. The poets themselves were men of learning; there were masters of arts and crafts. Lastly the schools of philosophy enjoyed real popularity.¹⁸

Further evidence of the priority placed upon rhetoric "is seen in the accessibility of the handbooks written by Cornatus . . . (60-68 A.D.)."¹⁹ This Alexandrian section of Africa "was called by Juvenal the nurse of pleaders" and boasted such names as Septimius Severus, Cornatus, and Pronto, the orator and tutor.²⁰ Origen's teacher, Clement, "borrowed heavily from the rhetorical techné."²¹ The principal gnostic systems of theology and philosophy had their origins in Alexandria under the Roman rule. Here was

also the speculative neo-Platonic school, which established early in the third century A.D. by Ammonius Saccus, whose disciples were Plotinus and Origen.

Alexandria, therefore, was a cosmopolitan center of learning in philosophy and in the religions of Greece, Rome, the Middle East, and the Orient. The commerce of ideas was healthy. A rich library was available for advanced studies. As a trade center, the city brought famous persons to Alexandria and allowed Origen the opportunity for world travel and influence. Wealth, culture, and learning at Alexandria would certainly challenge the Christian preacher to withdraw or adjust his message so as to convert such an audience; Origen adjusted his message.

Origen's skill in argument, his massive arsenal of citations from Christian and non-Christian philosophies, his popularity as a speaker to Christians and non-Christians alike, all suggest that he took advantage of Alexandria's libraries, public forums, museums, schools, and international guests.

Origen, the Teacher

At age eighteen, Origen became a teacher of grammar in a post-elementary school, probably much like the one he

attended; he was to prepare pupils for higher classes given by teachers of rhetoric. The cycle of study for a child, patrologist Cadiou wrote, seems to have been first, elementary classes under the registrar, who was the master and also a kind of a doctor. After the elementary classes there were classes given by professors of grammar and rhetoric; the grammar course was composed of the epic, comic, and tragic poets, and the historians. Then came instruction by the head of the school, who was a philosopher.²²

About two years after beginning to teach grammar, the Alexandrian was named the head of the Christian academy where he taught the catechumens.²³ Origen's teaching attracted many pupils, including Plutarch, who died a martyr, and Heraclas, who later became bishop of Alexandria. Catechetical instruction left inadequate time for study of theology. Thus, about 212 A.D. he turned the leadership of the elementary work of the academy over to Heraclas and began advanced teaching.²⁴

In the advanced studies, Origen was approached not only by Christians but also by heretics and the philosophically educated; he must have made a thorough inquiry into both heretical and philosophical views of truth. A radical

change in attitude toward secular learning was born.

Secular studies would be pursued to prepare the student "for the scientific study of the Bible, the crown of the whole structure [His school] became in fact a university, offering the whole field of learning. Origen himself taught the various subjects."²⁵

Christians and non-Christians alike flocked to him for such instruction as "rhetoric, philosophy, or scriptural exegesis;"²⁶ Origen lauded philosophy, declaring that "those only live . . . truly worthy . . . who aim . . . at an upright life, and who seek to know themselves . . . , and then things . . . truly good . . . [and] really evil, to be sought and shunned."²⁷ In his valedictorian address, Gregory, Origen's student, related that the master had taught him and his brother in the Socratic method and by discourses. Origen corrected their errors, taught them to distinguish between truth and error, and to be critical of both language and arguments.²⁸ "With grace and persuasiveness," the teacher of Alexandria used arguments which "pierced as with arrows."²⁹

Origen's teaching was enhanced because he was a good man whose noble character personified the truths he taught and preached. Describing his teacher, Origen, Gregory

recalled that

this man Origen was the first that introduced me to philosophy by his words, as he pointed the exhortation by deeds before he gave it in words, and did not merely recite well-studied sentences; nay, he did not deem it right to speak on the subject at all but with a sincere mind and one bent on striving ardently at the practical accomplishment of the things expressed, and he endeavored all the while to show himself in character, like the man whom he describes in his courses as the person who shall lead a noble life; and he ever exhibited the pattern of the wise man.³⁰

Foundational Tenets of Origen

A summary of Origen's concepts of man, knowledge, and God are included here to provide a further context for understanding the Alexandrian's rhetorical thought and practice. Since his teaching was primarily in a religious context, it is natural that his most fundamental beliefs were grounded in theology and philosophy. Origen held that God was one, perfect, eternal, and transcendent Being Who created the universe in an orderly way. To identify Himself with man and to reveal His design for man and the universe, God sent His unique Son, Jesus Christ to man. Jesus Christ died to provide man's reconciliation, and rose again.³¹

The Alexandrian's understanding of God provides a communication model for the contemporary theorist as well

as a practical model for Origen's own rhetoric. The Father conceived a message of His care for man. The channel for that message was God's Son Who was "made man . . . , and took to Himself a body like our body . . . , truly died our common death . . . , rose from the dead . . . , and companied with His disciples."³² Thus, that which was in the mind of the Communicator was made effective by "signs of consubstantiation" which awakened a response of trust and obedience in the hearers. The theological reconciliation by the Son, suggested a theoretical foundation for Origen's rhetoric; his message would be a "means of reconciliation."³³ Following the example of God's identification with His "audience," Origen taught that the preacher should seek to identify with his audience in order to communicate the gospel.

The rhetorician endeavors to understand man's essential nature so that he may know how to communicate more effectively. Origen held that men "obtain first of all their existence from God the Father, and secondly their rational nature from the Word Christ, and thirdly their holiness virtue from the Holy Spirit."³⁴ Created with rationality, man distorts his reason by entertaining "unworthy views" of God, and delivers himself "over to

errors and deceits."³⁵ Origen held that corrupted man could not by himself return to God and complete rationality; Jesus Christ stands between man and God to mediate restoration. Man is persuaded to accept mediation and instructed by the preaching of the gospel which is the "true food of the rational nature."³⁶ When man is restored to faith, his reason serves as "a judge and investigator" to show him the way to deal with his circumstances and to judge right and wrong.³⁷

Christian education performed a vital role.³⁸ Following Platonic thought, Origen taught that the ability to tell good from the mere appearance of good, true from false, being from non-being must be learned in order to gain maturity. For Plato, philosophy was the educator (paedeia) of man. Similarly, Origen understood Christianity to be "the greatest educational power in history."³⁹ Christian education could in fact take "the most intemperate and savage of men and, if they will follow her education's exhortation, can change . . . savagery to gentleness."⁴⁰

The sources of knowledge, Origen held, were found in common opinions (tradition), evidence of things seen (observation), reason, and the crowning source, sacred Scripture.⁴¹ Scripture came by divine inspiration; it

produces "salvation for those who are willing to learn."⁴²

Reason seemed to be that unifying, and interpreting faculty of man.⁴³ To interpret the Scriptures correctly, Origen instructed the preacher to pray for illumination. And since the rational man required the pure rational food of the Scripture, it followed that rational analysis might be expected to guide the teacher in his interpretation of the Bible. To interpret the Scriptures, Origen systematized the allegorical method. Three levels of interpretation--literal, moral, and mystical--related the Bible's meaning to man according to his level of understanding and spiritual maturity.⁴⁴

In summation, Origen's rhetorical insights become clearer as his philosophical and theological tenets are understood. Preaching proclaimed the Gospel of Jesus Christ by which the rational, but fallen man, was educated and restored. The source of knowledge for Christian rhetoric was to be found in tradition, observation, reason, and Scripture. Since man was free to make responsible choices, persuasion was necessary. The rhetorician was confident in the persuasive power of his truth, because it was the "true rational food." Preaching was to mediate between God and man, to persuade man to consciously identify with God.

Influence of Leading Theorists

Traces of various schools of thought in Origen's writings have misled some to label him prematurely as the exponent of a specific school. But a comprehensive view would demonstrate that "as the diversity of Origen's references implies, he . . . bore no single trademark. Origen was 'Stoic, Neo-Pythagorean, a Platonist, and a Gnostic . . . nonetheless resolved to be Christian.' Some referred to him as a middle Platonist . . . a Christian Platonist . . . or Neo-Platonistic."⁴⁵ Gregory described Origen as eclectic and liberal in exposing his students to many philosophies and issues:

To secure us against falling into the unhappy experience of most, he did not introduce us to any one exclusive school of philosophy; nor did he judge it proper for us to go away with any single class of philosophical opinions, but he introduced us to all and determined that we should be ignorant of no kind of Grecian doctrine.⁴⁶

Specific influences upon Origen from various individuals and schools of thought are now traced.

Origen found Platonic thought an important source for his general ideas. His rhetorical thought was affected by Plato's idealism, which considered the material and visible to be inferior to the immaterial and invisible. He con-

~~tended that the body weighted the soul and the mind heavy~~
with cares. Material prosperity was little and earthly;
whereas, spiritual bounty was great and heavenly.⁴⁷ Such an
emphasis encouraged Origen to prize spiritual meanings above
the literal when gathering scriptural truths for preaching,
Too, the speaker would esteem content above display of style
and delivery. Man's greatest persuasiveness would be
grounded in his inner character.

Origen's penchant for unity was characteristically
Platonic. He reasoned: "Virtue is one, vice is many; truth
is one, falsehood is many."⁴⁸ Plato had said that there is
only one form of virtue, but infinite varieties of vice.⁴⁹
Origen's care for unity led him to practice consistency of
thought and unity of organization in sharp contrast to his
predecessors among the church fathers.

The Alexandrian used a variety of Platonic ideas for
his inventional stock. With an argument from Plato, he
countered Celsus' charge that God must have been weak if He
could not persuade certain obstinate individuals; had not
Plato found that "creators of persuasion" were not to be
indicted simply because the listener failed to hear? In
another discussion, Adam and Eve's expulsion from the Garden
of Eden was likened to the Platonic doctrine of "the

~~decent of the soul which loses its wings and is carried~~
 hither until it finds some firm resting place."⁵⁰ Likewise,
 Origen cited Plato to affirm the vital role of reason in
 guiding the soul to God, the "ultimate being, colorless,
 formless, and impalpable, visible only to the mind that is
 the guide of the soul."⁵¹

Origen's philosophical foundation for his allegorical
 method was illustrated with a rationale from Plato's
Symposium. Origen recalled Penia's plan to gain a child by
 the drunken Porus. Subsequently, she bore the child named
 Eros. Origen asserted that if readers of that myth bore
 the malice of Celsus, they would ridicule the great Plato.
 However, by examining philosophically what Plato expressed
 in the form of the myth, they would admire his ability. For
 Plato hides the truths from the multitudes and reveals them
 to those who seek the author's true intent. In this case
 the true intent of Plato was to show that Penia was like the
 tempting snake of paradise; Porus was original man against
 whom Penia conspired.⁵²

Origen showed the Platonic influence in several
 specific ways beyond mere reference to Plato. Platonism
 was evident in Origen's view that the world was good because
 it answered to the design of a wise Creator. In addition

to this, the Alexandrian's Plato-like optimism was observed in the view of the world as a correction place to bring to perfection rather than a simple probationary place.⁵³

Origen also held to the Platonic idea that evil is contrary to God's plan; it was a creation of men, not God. Evil was a negation of God and thus was merely temporal. For, said Origen, "even the punishments . . . by fire . . . are meant to be applied as a help."⁵⁴ The ultimate of Christian Platonism was found in Origen's longing for martyrdom in which he would "be liberated from the bondage of corruption . . . , /though now/ bound to a corruptible body, into the liberty of the glory of the children of God." Then /God/. "takes you from the earthly region and attaches you to Himself."⁵⁵

Origen showed awareness of Plato's other works such as The Apology, Crito, Epinomis, Epistles, Laws, Phaedo, Philebus, Republic, Symposium, Theaetetus, and Timaeus. Porphyry, commenting on Origen's acquaintance with Plato's writing, said he "lived with Plato."⁵⁶

Origen revealed the historical influence of Aristotle to a considerable degree. He did not refer to Aristotle's Rhetoric, as he did to certain other works and attitudes.⁵⁷ But evidence suggests that he was acquainted with the

Rhetoric. For example, Origen held a view of probability, common with Aristotle.⁵⁸ He shared Aristotle's view that the perceived character of the speaker is a powerful element in persuasion.⁵⁹ Other common rhetorical viewpoints are: the amoral character of rhetoric, the urgency of a speaker's having a broad knowledge beyond the principles of rhetoric,⁶⁰ the confidence that truth and justice have natural superiority over evil and injustice, and the call for style which avoids both meanness and dignity.⁶¹ Other classical writers used by the Alexandrian as resources were Callimachus, Chaeremon, Euripides, Heraclitus, Herodotus, Hesiod, Hippocrates, Homer, Pindar, Thucydides, and Zeno of Citium.⁶²

A forerunner of Origen at Alexandria was the Jewish Philo (20 B.C.-54 A.D.), who appears to have affected Origen's outlook. Philo was a Hellenist who was convinced that the teachings of the Old Testament should be combined with Greek speculation, setting a pattern for the Christian Origen.⁶³ Philo used the method of allegory which Origen was to perfect as a synthesizer of Greek, Hebrew, and Christian thought. The allegorical method would provide an important source for discovery and arrangement of the speaker's materials, seen later in this study's treatment

of invention and arrangement. Only one overt reference to Philo was found in this study. To the preacher, Origen commended Philo's book about Jacob's ladder which hinted at "more profound doctrines."⁶⁴

Exercising a personal influence on Origen was his master in the academy, Clement (150-215 A.D.).⁶⁵ Clement was probably born to non-Christian parents in Athens where he also received his first training. After his conversion to Christianity in unknown circumstances, he traveled to Italy, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt to seek instruction "from the most famous Christian teachers."⁶⁶ In Clement, expository discourse showed "the first germs of the himily."⁶⁷ Dargan called Clement a many-sided man, theologian, exegete, poet, preacher. His influence on Origen was deep and formative . . . ; through his illustrious pupil Origen he has left a broad mark on preaching and on Christian thought."⁶⁸

Clement headed the catechetical school in Alexandria where he taught Origen. Clement, like Origen's father, helped Origen to understand that Greek thought need not be an enemy; instead it could be an effective ally for declaring the Christian message. Contemplating many Christian's antipathy toward non-church literature, Clement complained

that "the common herd fear Greek philosophy just as children fear goblins."⁶⁹ Clement taught that Greek and Christian truth enhanced each other. Copleston summarized that harmony in an apt way:

Animated by the attitude which was later summed up in the formula, Credo, ut Intelligam, he sought to develop the systematic presentation of the Christian wisdom in a true, as opposed to a false gnosis. In the process he followed the spirit of Justin Martyr's treatment of the Greek philosophers, looking on their work rather as a preparation for Christianity, an education of the Hellenic world for the revealed religion, than as a folly and delusion. The divine Logos has always illumined souls; but whereas the Jews were enlightened by Moses and the Prophets, the Greeks had their wise men, their philosophers, so that philosophy was to the Greeks what the Law was to the Hebrews. It is true that Clement thought, following Justin again, that the Greeks borrowed from the Old Testament and distorted, from vainglorious motives, what they borrowed; but he was also firmly convinced that the light of the Logos enabled the Greek philosophers to attain many truths, and that philosophy is in reality simply that body of truths which are not the prerogative of any one Greek school but are found, in different measure and degree, in different schools, though Plato was indeed the greatest of all the philosophers.⁷⁰

Thus, Clement encouraged Origen still further to find harmony between religion and all true knowledge especially pre-Christian philosophy. He gathered from the latter its elements of truth in order to show that they received their unity in the Christian faith in which they are "transfigured and glorified."⁷¹ Clement urged that it would be a catastrophe to tell the well-educated catechumen

that the greatest of Greek poets and philosophers were taught by the devil. He likened the Christian fears of Greek learning to the men of the Odyssey who stopped their ears lest the sirens deceive them. In contrast, Clement reasoned that "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof."⁷² In Clement, Origen had a teacher who paved the way to use non-Christian rhetoric and philosophy to reinforce the gospel.

According to De Faye, Origen was profoundly affected by the Stoics, depending upon them for philosophical analyses and the essential part of his cosmology. For example, he followed the Stoics in having a sense of divine life and realizing the actual perceptible influence of God.⁷³ For the Stoic, God was in man and man in God. In like fashion, Origen found the power of God to be that "tension /which/ . . . accompanies substance and permeates it in every part." Stoic teaching was borrowed by the Alexandrian when he taught that the "guidance principle /in man is/ . . . called the heart."⁷⁴

Rhetorical tenets of the Stoics, which were strong in Origen, were the use of non-florid language,⁷⁵ trust in the simple truth as a powerful persuader, and rhetoric to be "speaking well in exposition."⁷⁷ Origen applied the

Stoic emphasis on exposition to the sermon; he trusted the persuasive power of scriptural exposition. He said that "there is not one jot or tittle written in Scripture which, for those who know how to use the power of the Scripture, does not affect its proper work."⁷⁸ The Scriptures were the truth, and the "know-how" was "speaking well in exposition." More is said about exposition in this study's consideration of Origen's rhetorical theory. At the beginning of his writing career, Origen used the Encyclopedia of Hierophilus, the Stoic.⁷⁹ It presented lists of meanings for the same word according to Platonic, Stoic, and various philosophies existing at the end of the second century.

Finally, the Stoic influence, which was probably the most important to Origen, was the use of allegory to interpret the old Greek myths. Origen adopted allegory and systematized it for the church. But unlike the Stoics and others who had used allegory to make their text fit their system, Origen's allegorized text, the Bible, was the center to which Origen adjusted philosophy.⁸⁰

Some Ciceronian influence may be seen in Origen's thinking. Cicero's On the Nature of the Gods was used by Origen and many apologists as an arsenal of argument against the cults of the errant deities of Homer and the

poets.⁸¹ For example, Origen adopted Cicero's idea that Zeus could not be a god, because he was dead and his tomb was proof of his death. Jesus' tomb could also be found; but, argued Origen, Jesus "rose from the tomb; the Cretans do not go on to relate that of Zeus."⁸² Thus, if Zeus were a god, why is he still dead?

Though this study did not uncover overt rhetorical influence of Cicero on Origen, dominant theories of Cicero may be seen in Origen's thought and practice. A notable precept of Cicero was vital to Origen, namely, "eloquence . . . requires many things; a wide knowledge of very many subjects (verbal fluency without this being worthless and even ridiculous)."⁸³ Origen taught his students that the "philosophy of the Greeks . . . /is/ ancillary to Christianity."⁸⁴ Moreover, the speaker was to "gather . . . /his materials by/ giving heed to reading, to exhortation and to teaching, and /to/ the law of the Lord . . . new /and/ . . . old."⁸⁵ By practice the Alexandrian brought to his speaking the insights of myths, poetry, Scripture, and scores of philosophical writings. Moreover, Origen certainly supported Cicero's desire "to lift rhetoric above academic pedantry and narrow professionalism to the higher level of a genuine humanism."⁸⁶

A dominant difference may be seen in Origen's and Cicero's views of style. Cicero taught that "Ornatio /is/ that crowning glory of eloquence."⁸⁷ Origen wanted a style that was both "popular and profitable" and often urged that success of mere eloquence would only refute the power of the gospel.⁸⁸

Origen is often designated by scholars to have been a Christian neo-Platonist, because he sought to combine the elements of neo-Platonism and Christianity.⁸⁹ Origen's times were intellectually stagnated in philosophy from the second century on; however, neo-Platonism was a notable exception. Neo-Platonism attempted to combine the teaching of Plato, elements derived from Aristotle, and the Stoics, and also from the Pythagoreans. The Pythagoreans, after a long period of obscurity, had emerged into greater prominence, shortly before the beginning of the Christian era. This emergence was to create a systematic body of ideas which would still conform to the Greek philosophical tradition, and at the same time would effectively answer schools of other viewpoints.⁹⁰

Origen had a growing conviction that it was "necessary to make himself acquainted with the doctrines of the Grecian schools that he might meet his opponents on their

own ground,"⁹¹ as he began teaching advanced students.

Under Ammonius Saccas' instruction, Origen became acquainted more fully with philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, Homer, and numerous others, as may be observed readily in the Contra Celsum.⁹² Ironically Origen's pagan mentor, Ammonius Saccas, is "himself little more than a name." He "left no writings of his own and references to him in Antiquity are very few."⁹³ Ammonius' teaching was "historically a transition stage between Platonism and neo-Platonism, and he may be regarded as the founder of the latter school."⁹⁴ Among his disciples were Longinus and Plotinus. It appears that Origen strengthened Plotinus' mystical insights; whereas, Plotinus reinforced Origen's philosophical insights. Plotinus had great respect for Origen's wisdom; in the midst of one of his lectures, Plotinus blushed and rose from his seat when he realized that Origen was present. Origen asked him to continue but he declined "since he was sure of addressing people who already understood what he was about to say. After a few brief observations, the master Plotinus rose from his chair and left the gathering."⁹⁵

Plotinus returned the neo-Platonists to the ancient problems of metaphysics, which had been slighted in the

schools for a long time.⁹⁶ Plotinus sought for the possibility of a right relationship between the human soul and the divine Creator of the universe. He wrestled with the paradox of an omnipotent Creator and the presence of evil. In his system, he strove to combine the traditional Greek effort to solve these questions by the use of human reason with a means of salvation for the individual. Thus, Plotinus' system was an attempt to reconcile a mystical intuition about God with a rational explanation of the physical universe; whereas, Origen sought a reconciliation of the Christian revelation with a philosophical rationale. Hopefully, further research will bring more light on the relationships of Origen and Plotinus.

Hippolytus (170-236 A.D.) was a contemporary of Origen, who lived in Rome. In about 212 A.D. Origen visited Rome and was impressed when he heard Hippolytus preach; this was the same year Origen began his advanced teaching in Alexandria.⁹⁷ Hippolytus appears to have helped Origen to feel liberty to use non-Christian authors. Prior to his visit to Rome Origen had given up all non-Christian writings; symbolic of this separatism, he even castrated himself in an attempt to remove all degrading temptations.⁹⁸ However, after his visit to Rome and Hippolytus, the

Alexandrian returned to the use of truth from non-Christian sources to complement the Christian message.

Hippolytus was an active campaigner against heretical sects and was a prolific writer from 200 A.D. to 235 A.D. Until about 1859 it was thought that all of his works had disappeared. However, it was discovered in 1851 that E. Miller had published a group of Hippolytus' works under the title Origen's Philosophumena or Refutation of all Heresies.⁹⁹

Several similarities were noted between Hippolytus and Origen. First, each wrote an apology against heresy. Second, both freely used the non-Christian philosophers to supplement their Christian messages. Third, they appear to have been the first to produce continuous commentaries on Scripture.¹⁰⁰

In separate sections, Goodspeed and Grant listed the numerous subjects treated by Origen and Hippolytus;¹⁰¹ comparison revealed many common topics. For instance, Origen, in his Homily I on Luke, mentioned The Infancy Gospel of Thomas and that work of Thomas was quoted by his Roman contemporary, Hippolytus (Refutation, v. 7. 20). The Traditions of Matthias showed up in the writings of both Origen and Hippolytus.¹⁰² Mention of the Ebionites.

was found in both Hippolytus and Origen.¹⁰³ The Acts of

Paul was mentioned by Origen; likewise, showing common influence, Hippolytus at Rome said The Acts of Paul were "highly regarded in his day."¹⁰⁴ Still another concert of treatment by Origen and Hippolytus was found when both dealt with Marcion. Hippolytus pointed out that Cerdo, the Syrian gnostic, had gone to Rome a little before Marcion and had influenced Marcion considerably. Origen tackled Marcion now and then in his Contra Celsus (vi. 53. vi.). The above references have served as examples of the common concerns and mutual influence of Origen and Hippolytus. Although Hippolytus was "rudimentary and superficial" compared to Origen,¹⁰⁵ the meeting of the two made a "profound imprint" on Origen and assisted the Alexandrian in his return to the classics as appropriate allies of Christianity.¹⁰⁶

Summary

Origen's family, city, education, travels, and friends exerted powerful influence on his development as a rhetorician. From his father he received the impulse to study and to find truth in both Christian and non-Christian thought. In his city he found libraries containing

classical, Stoic, sophistic. Hebrew, and Christian writings.

As a world center of commerce and learning, Alexandria brought Origen in touch with keen and varied philosophers, rhetoricians, theologians, and scientists. Here, Oriental, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman culture met to interact. Such a variety urged the man to isolate or communicate; he communicated. In education, Origen had access to the best schools of the world. Rhetorical studies which dominated teen-age education were available to him. In the Christian academy he was further influenced by the liberal-minded Clement to synthesize harmonious thought from all schools of learning. In his travels he enjoyed access with the great minds of Caesarea, Athens, and Rome; rhetoric was a dominant study in all of those cultures. The Alexandrian was:

A man with a background of much educational travel, was a critic, polemicist, apologist, philosopher, and theologian The numerous converts /from the higher, cultural, and intellectual strata/ . . . called for a higher kind of teaching than sufficed for the first simple-minded Christians and led to the application of philosophy and higher studies in general through the doctrine and moral teachings of the Church. Origen was a great apostle fired with zeal and answered this need to the more educated people.¹⁰⁷

In general preparedness, Origen was the man for the task of vitalizing the development of Christian rhetoric.

Copleston judged the Alexandrian to be "the most prolific and learned of all Christian writers before the council of Nicaea" (325 A.D.).¹⁰⁸ Compared with the achievement of Origen, the work of the earlier Fathers of the Church seemed a mere prelude. The earlier fathers thought themselves to be proclaimers of the truth that had been revealed, and the Bible, freely interpreted, was their only secure foundation. They over-established their systematic theology. With the exception of Clement, their knowledge of philosophy and the sciences was "somewhat amateurish and determined by their own particular apologetic and polemical interests."¹⁰⁹ Campenhausen wrote that, apart from Plotinus, the pagan, Origen was the most comprehensive mind of his time. He came at a historical turning point when the church was moving from isolated existence forever and the points were being set for the future. When Origen shaped the philosophy, ideals, and churchmanship of his contemporaries, he determined the direction of Greek church theology for more than a century.¹¹⁰ In the Contra Celsum, alone Origen "weighs up the whole tradition of Ancient Greek culture; /and he assists/ . . . the coming to keep house together of ancient civilization with the rapidly expanding Christian society."¹¹¹

¹ Origen, "Works of Origen," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, trans. Frederick Crombie, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Grand Rapids, 1956), IV 224.

² Origen, IV. 224.

³ Origen, IV 224.

⁴ Origen, "On Prayer and Exhortation to Martyrdom," Ancient Christian Writers, trans. John J. O'Meara, ed. Johannes Quasten and Joseph C. Plumpe (Westminster, Maryland, 1954). p. 3.

⁵ Origen, "Works . . . ," IV, 225.

⁶ René Cadiou, Origen: His Life at Alexandria, trans. John A. Southwell (pseud.) (St. Louis, 1944), p. 18.

⁷ Richard P.C. Hanson, Origen's Doctrine of Tradition (London, 1954), p. 25.

⁸ Origen, "Works . . . ," IV, 224.

⁹ "Alexandria," Encyclopedia Americana (New York, 1957), I, 371-372.

¹⁰ H.I. Marrou, A History of Education in Antiquity, trans. George Lamb (New York, 1964), p. 260.

¹¹ "Alexandrian Library," Encyclopedia Americana (New York, 1957), I, 373-374.

¹² Marrou, pp. 423, 424.

¹³ Marrou, pp. 260. 261.

¹⁴ Berthold Altaner, Patrology, trans. Hilda C. Graef (New York, 1961), p. 212.

¹⁵ Marrou, p. 261.

¹⁶ Johannes Quasten, Patrology (Westminster, Maryland, 1953), II, 1.

¹⁷ Origen, "Works. . . ," IV, 223.

¹⁸ Eugene De Faye, Origen and His Work, trans. Fred Rothwell (New York, 1929), p. 24.

¹⁹ Thomas Edward Corts, "Origen's Contra Celsum: an Analysis of Early Christian Polemic (unpublished Master's thesis, Indiana University, 1966), p. 3.

²⁰ M.L. Clarke, Rhetoric at Rome (New York, 1963), p. 145.

²¹ Corts, p. 3.

²² Cadiou, p. 18.

²³ Hanson, p. 25.

²⁴ Eusebius Pamphili, Ecclesiastical History, trans. Roy J. Deferrari (New York, 1955), II, 28, 29; for date cf. Hanson, p. 2; Cadiou, pp. 49-53.

²⁵ Jean Daniélou, Origen, trans. Walter Mitchell (New York, 1955), p. 14; cf. Eusebius, II, 32, 33.

²⁶ Origen, "On Prayer and . . .," p. 4. cf. Eusebius, II, 32, 33.

²⁷ Gregory Thaumaturgus, "Oration and Panegyric Addressed to Origen," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, trans. S.D.F. Salmond, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donalson (New York, 1926), VI, 27.

²⁸ John A. Broadus, Lectures on the History of Preaching (New York, 1896), pp. 89ff.

²⁹ Gregory, VI, 27; see appendix for full text.

³⁰ Gregory, VI, 32.

³¹ Origen, On First Principles, trans. G.W. Butterworth (New York, 1966), p. 2.

³² Origen, On First Principles, p. 4.

³³ Kenneth Burke, "Rhetoric Old and New," The Art of Rhetoric, ed. Francis Connolly and Gerald Levin (New York, 1968), p. 444.

³⁴ Origen, On First Principles, p. 38.

³⁵ Origen, On First Principles, p. 118.

³⁶ Origen, Selections from the Commentaries and Homilies of Origen, trans. R.B. Tollinton (New York, 1929), p. 181.

³⁷ Origen, On First Principles, p. 163.

³⁸ Origen, On First Principles, pp. 152, 153.

³⁹ Werner Jaeger, Early Christianity and Greek Paideia (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), p. 65.

⁴⁰ Origen, On First Principles, pp. 162, 163.

⁴¹ Origen, On First Principles, p. 256.

⁴² Origen, Selections . . ., p. 49.

⁴³ Origen, On First Principles, p. 256.

⁴⁴ Origen, The Philocalia of Origen, trans. George Lewis (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 1, 12.

⁴⁵ Corts, p. 23.

⁴⁶ Gregory, VI, 32.

⁴⁷ Origen, "On Prayer and Exhortation to Martyrdom," Alexandrian Christianity, trans. and ed. Oulton and Chadwick (Philadelphia, 1954), II, 192.

⁴⁸ Origen, "On Prayer and . . .," trans. Oulton and Chadwick, II, 279.

⁴⁹ Plato, Republic, trans. Paul Shorey in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 421.

⁵⁰Origen, Contra Celsum, trans. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge, Eng., 1953), pp. 216f. cf. p. 360; cf. Plato, Phaedrus, trans. Harold N. Fowler in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), I, 473.

⁵¹Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 332. cf. Plato, Phaedrus, trans. Fowler, I, 477.

⁵²Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 215.

⁵³Charles Bigg, The Christian Platonists of Alexandria (Oxford, 1913), p. 200. cf. Origen, "Commentary in Joannis," IV. Patrologiae Graecae, XIV. ed. J.P. Migne (Turnholti, Belgium, /n.d./), xiii, 12.

⁵⁴Origen, On First Principles, p. 144. cf. Plato, Gorgias, trans. W.C. Helmbold (Indianapolis, 1951), pp. 79, 82. cf. Bigg, The Christian Platonists of Alexandria, p. 276.

⁵⁵Origen, "On Prayer and . . . , trans. Oulton and Chadwick, II, 387-393.

⁵⁶Jaeger, p. 50.

⁵⁷Origen, Contra Celsum, pp. 78, 519.

⁵⁸Aristotle, Rhetoric, trans. W. Rhys Roberts (New York, 1954), pp. 28, 86; cf. Origen, The Philocalia of Origen, pp. 89-91.

⁵⁹Aristotle, pp. 8, 91; cf. Origen, Selections . . ., p. 47.

⁶⁰Aristotle, p. 140; cf. Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 87.

⁶¹Aristotle, p. 167; cf. Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 63.

⁶²Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 519.

⁶³Johannes Quasten, Patrology (Westminster, Maryland, 1960), III, 1.

- 64 Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 334.
- 65 Cadiou, p. 1
- 66 Quasten, Patrology, II, 5.
- 67 Edwin Charles Dargan, A History of Preaching
(Grand Rapids, 1954), I, 49.
- 68 Dargan, I, 49.
- 69 Clement quoted in Pierre De Labriolle, History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius,
trans. Herbert Wilson (New York, 1925), p. 17.
- 70 Frederick Copleston, The History of Philosophy
(Garden City, N.Y., 1962), II, Part I, 40.
- 71 Altaner, Patrology, p. 215.
- 72 Clement, "Works of Clement," Alexandrian Christianity, trans. Oulton and Chadwick (Philadelphia, 1954), II, 18-19.
- 73 De Faye, pp. 63f.
- 74 Origen, "On Prayer and . . . , trans. Oulton and Chadwick, II, 299.
- 75 George Kennedy, The Art of Persuasion in Greece
(Princeton, N.J., 1963), pp. 29lff.
- 76 Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 204.
- 77 Kennedy, p. 294.
- 78 Origen, Selections . . . , p. 50.
- 79 Cadiou, p. 19.
- 80 Jaeger, p. 47.
- 81 Origen, Contra Celsum, p. x.
- 82 Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 157.

⁸³ Cicero, "On The Character of the Orator," The Basic Works of Cicero, trans. E.M.P. Moor (New York, 1951), p. 178.

⁸⁴ Origen, "Letter of Origen to Gregory," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, trans. Allan Menzies (Grand Rapids, 1965), X, 295.

⁸⁵ Origen, Selections, p. 142.

⁸⁶ Clarke, p. 60.

⁸⁷ Clarke, p. 60.

⁸⁸ Origen, The Philocalia, p. 63.

⁸⁹ H.T. Kerr, Preaching in the Early Church (New York, 1942), p. 111.

⁹⁰ M.L.W. Laistner, Christianity and Pagan Culture (Ithaca, N.Y., 1951), pp. 22f.

⁹¹ Origen, "Works," IV, 226.

⁹² Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 519.

⁹³ Laistner, p. 22.

⁹⁴ "Ammonius," Encyclopedia Americana (New York, 1957), I, 580.

⁹⁵ Cadiou, p. 186.

⁹⁶ Laistner, p. 23.

⁹⁷ Eusebius, II. 28, 29; for dates cf. Hanson, p. 2; Cadiou, pp. 49-53.

⁹⁸ Cadiou, pp. 26-28.

⁹⁹ Edgar J. Goodspeed and Robert M. Grant, A History of Early Christian Literature (Chicago, 1966), pp. 143, 144.

¹⁰⁰ Daniélou, Origen, p. 20.

- ¹⁰¹Goodspeed, pp. 53ff.
- ¹⁰²Goodspeed, pp. 54-55.
- ¹⁰³Goodspeed, pp. 54-55.
- ¹⁰⁴Goodspeed, p. 55.
- ¹⁰⁵Hans von Campenhausen, The Fathers of the Greek Church, trans. Stanley Godman (New York, 1959), p. 40.
- ¹⁰⁶Cadiou, pp. 49ff.
- ¹⁰⁷Father Benignus Cloonan, "The Effect of Classical Rhetoric upon Christian Preaching During the First Five Centuries," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State, 1959), pp. 174-175.
- ¹⁰⁸Copleston, History of Philosophy, II, Part I, p. 41.
- ¹⁰⁹Campenhausen, p. 40.
- ¹¹⁰Campenhausen. p. 41.
- ¹¹¹Henry Chadwick, "A Great Christian Thinker," The Listener (July 8, 1954), p. 67.

CHAPTER IV

ORIGEN'S RHETORICAL THOUGHT

Origen taught and used principles of rhetoric, consistent with the best traditions of Greece and Rome, to proclaim the Christian gospel. In the first century of the church, "the proclamation and teaching of God's word by public address was made an essential and permanent feature of the Christian religion."¹ However, the vigorous beginnings of preaching faded with the death of the apostles; "feebleness and obscurity" followed for at least a century.² In the beginning of the third century, though, Origen was moved to revive the power of preaching by coupling the sacred Scripture to legitimate non-Christian rhetoric.

About 204 A.D. Origen temporarily abandoned the "pagan" learning while catechizing converts at the academy.³ But he began to see rhetoric's inherent worth and to observe that those who argued against non-Christians used "pagan" skills to defend Christianity. On the other hand, as Christianity found itself rooted in the ancient Greco-Roman culture, it aroused the suspicion of non-Christian intellectuals and writers. If Origen were to win

those outside the church, he must use non-Christian thought to answer their questions and to instruct them when they were converted to Christianity.⁴ He must use the "spoils of Egypt" for the service of the church;⁵ Origen would adapt non-Christian rhetoric for the church.

This chapter notes Origen's understanding of the concept of rhetoric, its subject matter and the office of the canons. Then his rhetoric is viewed as to its place in art, ethics, and society.

Definition and Subject Matter of Rhetoric

Origen conceived of rhetoric as that art by which Christian teaching is made persuasive. The art is grounded in ethical purpose, and sound understanding of the Scripture and related knowledge. His rhetoric could be taught. Explicating the function, Origen said, the "man of God should utter what makes his hearers' salvation, what encourages self-control, and . . . a life of sound conduct . . . , that the hearer may succeed in obtaining what God has promised."⁶ Origen held preaching to be more than mere giving of information. For a "man may teach . . . auditorss", that is. make them know something that they know not before, and yet not preach: for preaching is to

make them know things appertaining to salvation."⁷ The message must be one which "not only contains the truth, but is able to win over the multitude."⁸ The scope of Origen's rhetoric was found wherever Christian preaching occurred. The subject matter was Christian teaching extracted from Scripture and supplemented by tradition, observation and reason.⁹ The exposition of his subject matter called for the Stoic ideal of "speaking well in exposition."¹⁰

Invention

Origen treated the canons of rhetoric but he did not name them specifically. The first canon, invention may be defined as "the method of calling up what we do know, and investigating that of which we are ignorant " with a view to the selection of the most convincing materials for speaking.¹¹

Origen held that knowledge was resident in common opinions, evidence of things seen, testimony from the sacred Scripture, and reason. He explained:

In our investigation of . . . important matters, we do not rest satisfied with common opinions in the evidence of things that are seen, but we use, in addition, for the manifest proof of our statements, testimonies drawn from the Scriptures, which we believe to be divine, both from what is called the Old Testament and also from the New, endeavoring to confirm our faith by reason.¹²

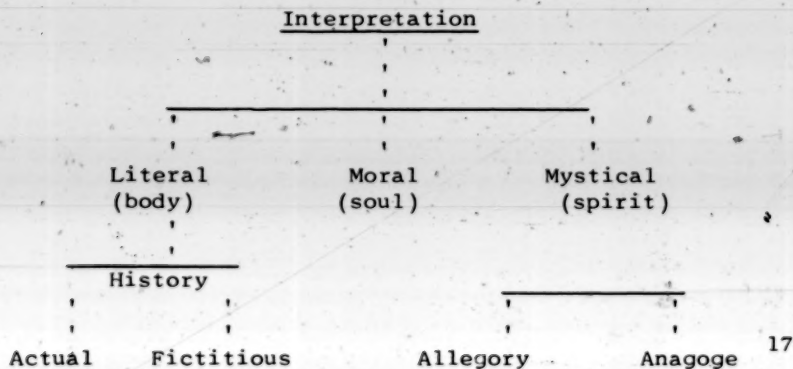
When he spoke of "common opinions," it appeared that he was referring to traditions. "Evidence of things that are seen" were sense observations. Reason's functions seemed to be that unifying, interpreting, and connecting knowledge which gave sense to all.

For Origen, the gospel was not "the natural crown of reason and the Law, but rather a remedy for their failure."¹³ "Scripture is the one perfect and attuned instrument of God," Origen maintained, "producing from its various notes a single sound of salvation for those who are willing to learn."¹⁴ He held that Scripture was "the true food of the rational nature" of man, which a man may reject if he "thinks he can derive nothing advantageous or salutary from it."¹⁵

Origen systematized the allegorical method to investigate and gather the materials of speaking from Scripture. The Alexandrian outlined the purposes of Scripture, which affected the interpreter's understanding. The "simple" listeners were to be edified by contemplation of the "flesh" of the Scriptures. The more advanced listeners were built up by its "soul" and the "perfect" auditors were instructed by "spiritual law."¹⁶ Thus, Origen believed that there were three stages in interpreta-

tion; one for the simple (flesh); one for the more advanced (soul); and one for the perfect (spirit). The right way to read the Scriptures and to extract their meaning was first to recognize these three levels of purpose which edified the various listeners.

Origen's scheme of interpretation may be represented as follows:



This scheme outlines Origen's allegorical system, which is not to be confused with "allegory" as one phase of the mystical interpretation. In the diagram, "literal" interpretation was divided into "actual" and "fictitious" history. "Actual" history is obvious in its meaning; "fictitious" history was "invented by the Holy Spirit to convey . . . truths which earthly things could not suffic-

iently typify,"¹⁸ but the text was still interpreted literally. The moral interpretation was to be observed in the law when the letter was impossible or absurd, but moral truth was intended and was to be apprehended from the text by reason. "Allegory" was "prefiguring the history of Christ and His Church." "Anagoge" was "typifying the things of a higher world in which everything of this earth has its anti-type."¹⁹

Men were hardhearted and ignorant, according to Origen, because they did not go beyond a literal interpretation of the Scriptures.²⁰ False beliefs, Origen held, come about because the "Scripture is not understood in its spiritual sense, but is interpreted only according to the bare letter."²¹ Though his critics have sometimes referred to Origen's heavy commitment to the allegorical method as "the allegorical fury,"²² tension between philosophy and religion was relieved by allegorizing the religious.²³

In order to use the allegorical system appropriately, Origen instructed that thorough investigation was necessary to discover how far the literal meaning was true, and how far it was impossible. "All Scripture has a spiritual meaning, but not all a bodily literal and historical meaning . . .," Origen asserted. "Consequently, the man

who reads the divine books reverently, believing them to be divine writings, must exercise great care."²⁴ The Alexandrian cautioned that "we sometimes through ignorance . . . fall into great errors because we do not clear up . . . literal meanings and distinction."²⁵

Origen likened the spiritual truth of the Scripture to a field of plants. His allegorical system would aid in the discovery of the "hidden treasures of wisdom and knowledge which the Spirit . . . calls dark and unseen and concealed"²⁶ beneath the visible plant. The allegorical method, according to De Faye was the "art of discovering in a text an idea which the author seems to have had, but which is not apparent in the literal meaning of his text. The author has concealed it beneath words that have a meaning which is not that idea."²⁷

Origen's allegorical method was philosophy's method and was used by the Greeks in the interpretation of classical literature. For some time, Greek moralists had interpreted Homer by quoting lines from him as the contemporary theologian quotes the Bible to enforce moral truths.²⁸ The schools of Longinus and Plotinus also used allegory to explain Homer.²⁹ However, it was Origen who gave allegory its form and significance as the method of scriptural

interpretation. Furthermore, Origen gave a new dimension to allegory in that this philosophical speculation was used "to support a positive religion that was not itself the result of independent search for the truth, like earlier Greek philosophies, but took as its point of departure a divine revelation contained in a holy book, the Bible. Even that was not quite without precedent, for Philo had done something similar with the Jewish religion."³⁰ In Greek philosophy the Stoics had interpreted the old Greek myths allegorically. Aristotle once "declared that the ancient gods of Greek popular religion were the same thing as the theology of his unmoved mover, only expressed in mythical form, just as he Aristotle taught that Hesiod's theogony was a sophizethai in mythical form."³¹ Thus, in Origen, Scripture was saved from those critics who wished to reject it. The achievement was accomplished in Origen's system "by the distinction of a literal, a historical, and a spiritual meaning of the texts."³²

Origen suggested additional aids to assist the Christian preacher's understanding of the Bible. First, certain understanding came to the rhetorician, by a kind of divine illumination activated by prayer. In this way the "mind of the researching preacher is filled . . . with

divine perception."³³ Prayer for illumination, however, was not enough. The Alexandrian held that to gain better understanding of scriptural truths, the preacher must make thorough investigation of the passage to be explained. Linguistic studies were necessary to determine lexical, historical and syntactical relationships.³⁴

He urged his students to prepare diligently for speaking in order to gather the best materials.³⁵ He advocated that the speaker maintain freshness by continual research. He urged: "What belongs to the praise of God must be new and fresh, so that there be no risk of your lips speaking but your mind being fruitless, while you produce old teaching in the Church."³⁶ Be original, he taught, "'Drink waters out of your own cisterns.'³⁷ /For/ each of us . . . has a well of his own nature. Nay . . . not one cistern . . . but many."³⁸ The researcher would find that "the wells in our souls have need of a digger . . . that those channels of rational thought which God has formed in the soul may send forth streams pure and undefiled."³⁹

The Alexandrian's inventional system was also affected by the doctrine of probability. In his search for the meaning of a Scripture passage, the preacher was to seek the highest degree of probability as to its meaning, but

~~shun a dogmatic certitude about its interpretation.~~ Origen chided the pagan Celsus' certitude about the meaning of certain Scripture texts. Said Origen, "not even we who spend ourselves upon these studies would claim to know 'all about it,' for truth is dear to us."⁴⁰ Often Origen concluded his discourses with the announcement that "if there is anyone who can discover something better and prove what he says . . . , let his opinion be accepted in preference to mine."⁴¹ Origen held that Scripture is the perfect "instrument of God."⁴² But the preacher's understanding is seldom complete, it is often just probable. Origen would therefore have his students seek the best premises, then humbly present their conclusions in their preaching.

Thus, to discover the Bible's message, the speaker is to use the allegorical method of discovery; he would pray for illumination; he would make thorough linguistic investigation; and he would inquire diligently in order to gather the best, freshest, and most original material. Origen wanted to induce the Christian rhetorician to devote themselves to study, and not "let a single letter pass without examination and inquiry Blame yourself," he said, "when you fail to find the meaning of what is written in Scripture."⁴³ Origen lamented that "few of those whom

reason and providence have well-equipped, have undertaken inquiries."⁴⁴

Origen stressed the discovery and use of sound arguments, which like parapets about the deck of the house-top, made the hearers sage. He reasoned:

We hoped that, progressing in our building, through the supplies . . . /God/ affords, we should advance our work even to the parapet of the structure which prevents the man who had gone up to the roof of the Word or subject, from falling. It is only from structures that lack a parapet that such falls occur.⁴⁵

Unlike his Christian predecessors, Origen advocated wide reading to give the speaker a sound and ample fund for inventing rational arguments, besides providing a liberal education. He introduced his students to all philosophical opinions so that they "should be ignorant of no kind of Grecian doctrine."⁴⁶ He justified his use of non-Christian sources by recalling that Moses had commanded the Israelites "to spoil the Egyptians, and to obtain materials for making the things . . . /for/ the worship of God."⁴⁷ His own arguments reflected literally hundreds of references to his sources.⁴⁸ The Alexandrian's arguments were also varied. For example, he used hypothetical arguments to bolster his teachings from Scripture;⁴⁹ he argued from authority,⁵⁰ and he used the enthymeme commonly.⁵¹

Although Origen taught the use of arguments, he was grieved when masterful arguments won converts or confirmed the doctrine. He wanted to ascribe all persuasive power to the Holy Spirit. He argued: "convertere aliquos poterimus ad fidem et si suis cos rationibus et artibus superantes . . . , Quasi ex alienigena quadam, vel concubina, filios genuisse [If we are able to persuade some to convert to the faith and to the true philosophy of Christ by our superior reasoning and art . . . , we are like one who has generated a child from an alien or a concubine⁵²." However, Origen held that general propositions should be supported with evidence. A "dogmatic statement" he reasoned, "without a shred of proof" must be avoided.⁵³ He taught that the speaker who "will not be able to show" evidence for his assertions will lose his argument.⁵⁴ Examples were particularly convincing evidence; the speaker might take important examples from the apostles "to prove a point."⁵⁵ However, the speaker must avoid selection of examples "which he . . . [fails] to understand . . . [and] are not generally held" lest he weaken his point.⁵⁶ Examples were also often used as evidence to prove esoteric propositions.⁵⁷

There were other forms of support which increased the persuasiveness of speaking. Origen advocated the use of

explanation to establish a point.⁵⁸ He held that speakers must define their terms.⁵⁹ He urged the use of lexicons and dictionaries in determining the meaning and interpretation of words and phrases in Scripture.⁶⁰ Where appropriate, Origen felt the speaker should strengthen his generalizations with the use of statistics.⁶¹ Origen also found analogy--literal and figurative--to be a useful device in his speaking,⁶² and he used numerous comparisons to support or explain different propositions.⁶³

Origen believed that the authority of the church was not to be arbitrary. Justification of authority was the ability to give reasons, if circumstances required, or if the listeners possessed the capacity to understand those reasons. When the church or Scriptures had prescribed no particular view on a subject, then the preacher was free to discuss the issues openly and without the need of conforming to certain rules of thought.⁶⁴

In summary, Origen conceived of invention as a method of investigating available knowledge, with view to selecting the most convincing materials for speaking. The prime source of knowledge for preaching was Scripture. Observation, tradition, and reason were complimentary resources. For a method of investigating the Bible's meaning (literal,

moral, and spiritual), Origen systematized the allegorical method. In addition to this system, the speaker was aided by prayer, diligent investigation, and linguistic analysis. Extra-Biblical sources were examined by wide reading to further reinforce the speaker's persuasion. Varied rhetorical arguments were used, but Origen was disappointed if the truth itself was not the dominant persuader. Origen was among the first in the church to recommend that the truth of effective preaching was to be found in both Christian and non-Christian sources--the Bible was primary.

Organization

Origen's allegorical method provided a theoretical basis for organization. The divisions of the allegorical method became the most popular way to develop the main divisions of the medieval sermon. The parts of the sermon were developed by discovery of the historical, allegorical, and analogical meanings of the sermon's text.⁶⁵ The medieval preacher sometimes used two or all of the categories, as Origen, himself, did.

In the discourses on the Song of Solomon, Origen provided some of his most consistent use of the parts of his allegorical system to form the parts of the body of his

discourse. In the first discourse his text was "Let Him kiss me with the kisses of His mouth."⁶⁶ The first literal part of the message concluded with: "This is the content of the actual story." In transition to a further development of the discourse, Origen suggested: "But let us see if the inner meaning also can be supplied along these lines. Let it be the Church who longs for union with Christ."⁶⁷ Thus, the listener received the literal, moral, and finally the mystical senses as the divisions of Origen's exposition. Such structure was repeated often in other discourses. The "literal" was sometimes designated "historical," "actual," or "fictitious." The "moral" was sometimes seen as the "soul;" and the "mystical" was also denominated "anagogical," "spiritual," or "allegorical." The lines of difference between the moral and the spiritual were sometimes a bit vague.

Origen compared proper speech organization with the composition of music. He observed that when a man has been trained in the music of God, a man of skill in deed and word, he shall *ὑποτέλει φῶγγον μουσικῆς θεοῦ ἀπὸ ταύτης μαθὼν ἐν καιρῷ κρούειν χορδὰς νῦν μὲν νομικὰς νῦν δὲ συμφῶνους αὐταῖς εὐαγγελικὰς*
(He shall complete the sound of the music of God, having

learned to strike the chords at the critical moment. Now indeed the law, and now the symphony of the gospel)."⁶⁸ This theory provided for the practice of organizing one part of the sermon around an exposition of an Old Testament passage; another part was organized around an exposition of the New Testament counterpart. For example, a problem in the Old was solved in the New.

Homiletician Broadus concluded that Origen was the first who made Christian discourses more than a string of loosely connected observations, dependent on accidental suggestions, and promptings of passion; "he made them discourses indeed."⁶⁹ In order to understand the change Origen brought about in preaching, it is appropriate to review here the early history of Christian preaching. The first Jewish Christian preachers naturally followed the prophets of the Old Testament and the rabbis in patterns of preaching.⁷⁰ Most of the extant works of the apostolic fathers are letters, but they were designed to be read in public and show some oratorical feeling without the oratorical form.⁷¹ The form, if it may be designated as such, of the sermon was unpretentious conversations, or talks, as their name "homilies" suggests. There was little logical order, probably because no previous outline had been

prepared. The general feeling seemed . . . to be that the Holy Spirit would outline their sources as they preached. Before Origen, "Scripture was used in the homilies . . . by way of quotation and application [rather] than as furnishing a [textual basis] . . . for exposition."⁷²

Samuel Johnson observed that even the sermons of the New Testament contained no expositions.⁷³ Scripture was quoted at length but only as examples. The early Christians copied the free speeches of the synagogue which were prefaced by Scripture reading. Justin Martyr (died about 165 A.D.) wrote of the custom of his time: "the prophets are read as long as time permits; then when the reader has ceased, the president [of the synagogue] instructs and exhorts to the imitation of good things."⁷⁴ Tertullian (died 230 A.D.) commenting on the method of the homily said: "We assemble to read the sacred writings, to draw from them lessons pertinent to the time . . . ; exhortations are made; rebukes, and censures are administered."⁷⁵

The method and form of the homilies was further reinforced in the young church, Stalker claimed, because local lights were taking the place of some itinerant fraudulent, and profit-taking preachers.⁷⁶ Less educated local preachers read the Scripture aloud and attached

running commentaries before Origen's time. Origen's preaching, often "adopted from Greek rhetoricians," explained and applied definite texts.⁷⁷ No concept of organization, before Origen, seemed to have prevailed in the church; free association and formlessness seemed to have been the common characteristic of early preaching. Origen's discourses, however, were unswerving in their unity and movement toward the preconceived goal of the speaker.

Origen's sense of organization came from his application of classical concepts of collection and devision.

The following exemplified that usage:

Of things that are moved, some have their movement from outside, for instance, (1) inanimate things and things that are kept together only by their being disposed in a certain way; and, (2) things that can move because of some natural principle or soul. These last, however, are to be considered here not as being such, but only as being on occasion like those things that are kept together merely by their being disposed in a certain way. Stones, for instance, that have been taken from a quarry and logs of wood that have ceased to grow--things which are kept together merely by their being disposed in a certain way--have their movement from outside

In addition, there is a second class of things which are moved by an intrinsic principle or soul. They are described by those who are precise in their terminology as moving out of themselves.

A third kind of movement is that found in animals, which is termed movement from themselves.

Origen, for instance, stated the essential parts of

prayer:

There are, as I have found scattered in the Scriptures, four such parts that need to be outlined, and each one should organize his prayer according to these. Here are the component parts; at the beginning, in the prologue of one's prayer, one should with all one's strength glorify God through Christ, who is glorified with Him, in the Holy Spirit, who is praised with Him. Next, each one should thank God for all His benefits, recalling both these bestowed upon men in general and upon himself in particular. This thanksgiving should, I think, be followed by a sorrowful confession of one's sins and we should ask of God first to heal us and so deliver us from the habit which leads us into sin, and then remit our past sins. After the confession comes the fourth point, which in my view is that we should petition God for great and heavenly gifts, for oneself and for all, for one's relatives and friends; and, finally, the prayer should end with a glorification of God through Christ in the Holy Spirit.⁷⁸

The allegorical method of organization was a common way for Origen and medieval preachers to divide the body of their sermons. Origen's use of the Old Testament to reveal the "law," and the New Testament exposition to note the answer, or fulfillment, was another frequent form of organization. Origen appeared to be the beginner of a new form of sermon structure in contrast to the unstructured and often disorganized sermons of the early Fathers.

Style

Origen's style was a matter of adapting a form and mode of discourse to the needs of the audience. With

Aristotle, he recommended clear and appropriate style.⁷⁹ He admired Epictetus' counsel to speak simply for the common man.⁸⁰ Although Origen advocated a style that common people understood, he sometimes used stilted language. He often justified the simplicity of the Scripture's style with highly stylized and rare language. Yet Cadiou has observed that in every scholarly gathering, Origen was always the soul of simplicity. Paradoxically, his Christian acquaintances considered him lacking in the virtue of simplicity.⁸¹ It would appear that the erudite Origen made a conscious effort to communicate with the common people, but found his learned language emerging unconsciously.

Origen's literary technique contained a special device found in the choice of words and in the expressive grouping of these words to make a phrase, especially when using words from Scripture.⁸² He held the view that words and phrases should be balanced in such a way as to make them both concise and eloquent. He was concerned about the meaning of words, even when he wrote in the fervor of religious exaltation. This concern caused his style to be like "beautiful designs which the Alexandrians of that time liked to see on their lockets and other ornaments."⁸³

Alexandrians were not given to the sophisticated

use of words and the stringing of words together in sentences for musical cadence. Cadiou pointed out that they scorned the writers who were "hunters of sweet expressions and amateurs of verbal knick-knacks."⁸⁴ Like his fellows at Alexandria, Origen opposed grandiose language and preferred the simple poetry of the Scriptures in which he had been steeped throughout his life.⁸⁵ He had little fondness for a literary weapon "that had been beaten with the blows of a hammer and sharpened on a rock He preferred the Word of God, which falls from the mountain by its own weight without any assistance from the hand of man."⁸⁶ If he exemplified his own concept of style, Origen must have spoken with clarity, appropriateness, and force.

Origen's concept of style came out of an intense scholarly examination. Words were examined in isolation and in context. He analyzed Hebrew words in search of hidden meanings acquired in the course of the word's philological history. He used the Greek lexicaon often as a starting point in his study of words. In his philology, he favored the Stoics, especially Hierophilus. Another important source was the Aristotelian lexicon which distinguished the meaning of synonyms or closely related expressions, and classified words according to their

derivations.⁸⁷

Observing the contrasts of Origen's language, it appears that he could not be placed in a stylistic mold. He wanted style to be adapted to the audience. However, good style was a means of elevating the lower classes. To Celsus, he argued that some teachers took pains to use a vocabulary that would help everybody, and could command a hearing with anyone; "those who have abandoned the uneducated as . . . incapable of appreciating a literary style and . . . /heed only the/ educated . . . , confine what should be of benefit to the community to a very narrow and limited circle."⁸⁸

The use of cryptic style was a mysterious practice of Origen, which was consistent with some of the expressions of his master, Jesus Christ of Nazareth. Jesus often used language clear enough for children to understand; but on other occasions He used mysterious parables, explained in private only to His disciples. Origen said that "for the benefit of souls, it is often necessary to employ a ruse." He continued that "if the condition of the hearer demands it, the teacher uses ambiguous words and brings forth his meaning by way of enigmas, both in order to maintain the dignity of the truth and to insure

that what might be harmful if it were candidly spoken to the illiterate should be uttered in words that conceal something of its whole meaning." He went on to instruct, "But let the teacher on whom this necessity falls be careful that when he uses a fiction in this way, he employs it as sort of condiment or medicament. Thus, he will preserve the right order of things."⁸⁹

Origen defended the style of the Scriptures by saying that the prophets, Jesus, and His Apostles had the insight to adopt a mode of delivery "which not only conveys the truth but can win the many until they are drawn to be catechumens [learners carefully instructed] and then every one so far as he can rise to the inevitable mysteries contained in the seemingly poor language."⁹⁰ The ornate and polished style of Plato and his imitators," Origen argued, "benefits only a few . . . while the style . . . taught and written less elegantly, but . . . with direct and practical aim . . . for the greater number has benefitted many."⁹¹

To reinforce the simpler style of the Scriptures, Origen compared Plato's listeners with those of Epictetus. Plato, he said, was admired by the literary man, but Epictetus was the admiration of the common man and of all

who sought to improve themselves, for "they are conscious of the benefits to be derived from his writings."⁹² The Alexandrian assured his listeners that he did not want to disparage Plato, for Plato benefitted the world of great men. But Origen's goal was to show the compelling speech of the church whose "preaching was not in persuasive words of wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit of power [so] that faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God."⁹³

Origen compared styles of preaching to ways of cooking. The doctrines, asserted Origen, when expressed by Jewish prophets or Christian oracles were better than the same arguments expressed by the Greeks. Origen expected his audience to think it strange that Christian arguments could be better than the Greeks. However, the Alexandrian explained his position with an analogy to the preparation of different kinds of food. Suppose, he said, wholesome and nutritious foods were to be cooked and seasoned in a certain way, and those who ate of it were not the country folk or the inmates of hovels, or the poor folk who knew nothing of such dainties, but only the rich who were accustomed to eating delicately. Origen asked what the outcome would be if thousands of people came to eat the same

food not cooked for the Epicurean's tastes, but to suit the palates of the poor, of the rustics, and of the majority of men. Origen questioned the worth of only the epicures' finding health and strength from the food prepared for them in a certain way, while the multitude of men thrive on food cooked another way. Which set of cooks should be regarded as the greatest benefactors to the public? Should credit be given to those who cook to suit the learned few, or to those who cater to the hungry masses? Origen conceded that whichever way the food was prepared it "is equally wholesome and nourishing; humanity itself, however, and the public welfare teach us that a physician who takes thought for the health of the many, renders a greater service to the public than he who cares for the health of the few."⁹⁴

Indeed, Origen held that Jesus and the prophets were like the cooks who took care that the food was of highest quality prepared in the best way possible. Their style reached the masses; they did not close men's ears by strange language. Since the eating of rational food was to make the eater submissive and meek, Origen concluded "must we not think that the word which produces multitudes of forbearing and meek hearers . . . is better prepared than

that that which makes a mere handful forbearing and meek." Origen argued that if Plato, a Greek, intended to benefit Greek or Syrian adherents by sound doctrine, he would take care to learn the language of his future hearers, and would . . . rather be a 'barbarian' to do the Egyptians and the Syrians good, than to remain a Greek and be incapable of speaking anything of use to the Egyptians and the Syrians. "Just so," Origen said that "the divine nature . . . /cared not only for the/ learned among the Greeks," Origen expanded, "but also for the rest of the Greeks . . . employing words familiar to them, . . . /to/ encourage the unlearned multitude to hearken; for after the first introduction, they can easily endeavor to get hold of the deeper truths hidden in Scriptures."⁹⁵

Had the Scripture been highly stylized like great Greek literature, Origen reasoned, one might conclude that "it was not the truth which got hold of men, but that clear sequence of thought and beauty of language won the . . . hearers . . . with guile."⁹⁶ In Origen's estimation, Jesus had rejected the "embroidery of diction."⁹⁷

In summation, Origen recommended a style that was adapted to the understanding of the masses. The goal of style was not for embellishment but to provide food that

would feed the rational nature. Appropriate style fostered understanding of and obedience to the Christian life.

Occasionally Origen recommended a style that was intentionally enigmatic to further confound the indifferent and to dignify the truth. The Alexandrian justified solecisms, if they did not destroy the meaning of the message, or if they made the message clearer to the unlearned. If skilful reasoning and artful style, instead of the Holy Spirit, won converts, Origen thought that the converts were like the "sons of a concubine." Elevated style was justified when it was clear and raised the culture of the unlearned, or when it made the gospel clear to the erudite.

Delivery

It is likely that Origen was reluctant to express a precept on delivery because of the disrepute of the eloquence of the second sophistic. Comments of writers on Origen's delivery are varied. Campenhausen thought that Origen did not attach "the slightest importance to . . . rhetorical effects."⁹⁸ Bigg held that "his eloquence is not in the least that of the fashionable rhetoricians: It is due to his simplicity and directness, to the loftiness of his thoughts, and the passion of sincerity which

informs every word."⁹⁹ According to Dargan, Origen "was not an orator, but a teacher by instinct and experience."¹⁰⁰

Said Dargan, "He soared to no oratorical heights, nor did he descend to the colloquial and vulgar."¹⁰¹ Dargan held that Origen "cared only . . . for simple, clear, forcible exposition of God's Word."¹⁰²

In contrast to the above reluctance to ascribe overt eloquence to Origen, others found his delivery powerful. Cadiou wrote that Origen had a "natural charm in . . . eloquence."¹⁰³ Elsewhere, Cadiou wrote that "under the spell of his eloquence every enigma was . . . solved" for his students. With a somewhat paradoxical note, Cadiou wrote that "his eloquence was at once penetrating and sublime, although he disdained to impress his audience . . . From the moment he began to speak he had the attention of his hearers."¹⁰⁴ Likening Origen's delivery to classroom style, Cadiou held that he spoke like "an experienced lecturer who delivers a talk without any copy of his lecture before him"¹⁰⁵ "Free delivery" described Origen's presentation according to Smith.¹⁰⁶ Gregory found Origen's delivery to be graceful, persuasive, and constrained.¹⁰⁷

Most of Origen's sermons were not written by him. Instead secretaries recorded his message as he preached.¹⁰⁸

~~The practice of speaking~~ extemporaneously with, at most, a brief outline allowed Origen freedom in his delivery.¹⁰⁹

Though the researcher discovers no record of the Alexandrian's vocal or bodily delivery, it may be assumed that Origen most certainly linked effective delivery with powerful content in order to hold the large audiences he attracted throughout his lifetime. One would expect that his stance was relaxed but not informal; his facial expressions and gestures would no doubt reflect the varied moods of his theme and situation. Cadiou guessed that Origen displayed the delivery common to an experienced and vibrant lecturer who used no notes.¹¹⁰

Ethos

In this study, ethos is to be understood largely in the Aristotelian sense. Aristotle taught that "there are three things which inspire confidence in the orator's own character--the three, namely . . . good sense, good moral character, and goodwill."¹¹¹ However, unlike Aristotle's concept,¹¹² this study holds Origen's ethos to refer to the whole reservoir of believability which the speaker brings to and invents within the speech. If ethos were "achieved only by what the speaker says,"¹¹³ the doctrine could have been

~~considered in the inventional section. Origen considered~~
ethos to be that character of a good man whose life corresponded most nearly to the ideal of the Word of God. Such a man would be the most effective preacher.¹¹⁴

The Alexandrian aimed to impart instruction not simply by teaching the Word of God; but by providing an example of a truly "philosophical life."¹¹⁵ Gregory, his student, recalled that Origen practiced exhortation by deeds before he gave it in words; it was not right for him to speak upon a subject without a sincere mind. Origen sought to be a characterization of that noble man described in his discourses.¹¹⁶ The Alexandrian estimated the ethical strength of the apostles who "though their hearers did not always want to hear new doctrines in strange words, they welcomed them because of a certain divine power guiding them."¹¹⁷ The Apostles demonstrated "godly" lives, which supported words and reasons of their message. He said, "many make profession to speak, but their lives are not right, or are even lawless. So whatever they say is folly and nonsense. Sound . . . , strong, and saving speech . . . cannot be in the soul of a sinner."¹¹⁸

Origen warned that self-knowledge must be acquired and practiced in keeping with the Word of God. Otherwise,

the hearers were likely to follow the views of poor teachers who were insensitive to the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Their listeners would become as sheep going to other masters to find food. They would follow the teaching of those who remained sinners and never had power to cure sin.¹¹⁹ Origen believed serious self-knowledge, thorough research, and practical piety, were necessary parts of the ethical persuasion of the good speaker. Imitation would help the speaker to attain ethical excellence, by heeding "the saying of Paul: 'Be imitators of me as I also am of Christ.'"¹²⁰

The Alexandrian also found that ethos could be gained "by what the speaker says."¹²¹ For example, status by association was intimated by Origen's use of "our Paul."¹²² "To those who understand he obviously means . . ."¹²³ subtly suggested Origen's wisdom that gave him special insight. Linguistic scholarship was suggested by: "The Hebrew text reads By careful study of the text"¹²⁴ Extensive quotation of literature, paraphrase, and authors' names suggested that Origen was a literary man.¹²⁵ Ethos was, no doubt, elicited by Origen when he displayed modesty in certain conclusions, saying: "These points about the rational soul we have brought

forward to the best of our ability rather as matters of discussion by our readers than as definite and settled doctrines."¹²⁶ Origen's ethos, therefore, was more Quintilianic than Aristotelian. With Quintilian, Origen held that the speaker persuades most powerfully when he is both a trustworthy man and one whose speech suggests excellence of character.

Audience Adaptation

Origen understood that the audience's "soul"¹²⁷ must "be known" for the speaker to select the appropriate materials of invention or the proper style and delivery. The Alexandrian thought that the speaker must not, in his desire to display his wisdom, squander rational and spiritual food upon his fellow-servants indiscriminately. Certain listeners would be "quite unfit and often far more in need of such teaching as would improve their character, and give order to their life, than of the teaching which guides unto wisdom and illumination . . . those whose intelligence is capable of sustaining the radiance of this kind of life."¹²⁸ On the other hand, Origen admonished that the conveyor of truth must not shrink from preaching deeper truths to those who could appreciate them. Cul-

tured people had to be appealed to intelligently; otherwise, the exposition of the gospel might incur their contempt. Origen deduced that it is difficult "to be both in one, wise alike and faithful, but impossible it is not."¹²⁹

Niebuhr and Williams noted Origen's concern about audience adaptation. The Alexandrian taught as a gardener "who cultivates various kinds of fields." This teacher, they wrote, "took each mentality and each personality seriously and cultivated it according to his special needs."¹³⁰ Alert to his hearers, Origen claimed: "we make it our ambition to cause every word that proceeds out of our mouth to be effective both in us and those that hear it."¹³¹

Origen's concept of audience adaptation was consistent with Kenneth Burke's rhetoric of motives. To understand more clearly the doctrine of identification, it is necessary to note briefly Burke's insights on the subject. Burke's key term for rhetoric is "identification."¹³² In simple terms, identification occurs when the speaker equates himself with his audience, communicates his consubstantiality with the audience and his proposals with their value system. Burke explains spiritualization in identification, which transcends "the conflicts of the mine and the thine,

... by raising them to resonant terms of ours." Burke said that here is a grand device central to polemic, which is "forever translating back and forth between materialist and idealist terms for motives." Burke asked, "are there things disunited in 'body'? Then unite them in 'spirit'. Would a nation extend its physical dominion? Let it talk of spreading its 'ideals'. Do you encounter contradictions? Call them 'balances'."¹³³ Origen seemed to understand this identification process well. He ~~ed that~~ for Saint Paul to be of service to the Jews, he must, when reason directed, circumcize Timothy. When there was due cause, he shaved his own head and offered "Jewish" not "Christian" sacrifices so that he might become a Jew to the Jews in order to gain the Jews.¹³⁴ Origen explained that to overcome the alienation of Christian and Jew, Paul must identify with the Jews by his own action.¹³⁵

The faith is abstract, secret, and indiscernible until the preacher identifies with his hearers by overt "bodily actions" and "language" already known by them. Origen said it was impossible to "improve the beginner" ... through Christianity that is in secret alone. Hence, it is essential that our Christianity should have both a spirit and a body."¹³⁶ Every effort to know the feelings

of the audience, to speak his language, even a foreign language, to wear his dress, became a form of identification. In order to reach the masses, Origen judged that Jesus used a style that "adapts itself to their speech and does not by its strangeness close men's ears to such discourses because they are unfamiliar."¹³⁷ The Alexandrian father looked at Plato and found him using language as a means of identification. He said that "if Plato, a Greek, intended to benefit Greek or Syrian adherents by sound doctrine, he would take care to learn the languages of his future hearers."¹³⁸ Plato would rather be called a "barbarian" than to fail in his identification with the foreigner.

Origen found a great example of identification in the descent of Jesus Christ from the side of the Father to redeem men in the world. The Alexandrian found the divine nature "taking thought not only for those who are reputed learned among the Greeks, but also for the rest of the Greeks."¹³⁹ Jesus, Origen related, "descended to the ignorance of the maturity of hearers, so that employing words familiar to them, it might encourage the unlearned multitude to hearken."¹⁴⁰ Audience analysis then, was a means whereby the speaker understood what arguments,

language, and delivery would be most persuasive. By audience analysis, modes of identification could be discovered and employed.

Rhetoric's Moral Responsibility in Society

Origen's rhetoric qualified as an art according to Plato's requirement.¹⁴¹ He dealt with truth as discovered in Christian and non-Christian thought. He insisted that his rhetoric was man's salvation and what is pleasing to God. Origen held that the speaker was to be committed to honest and scholarly inquiry wherever that inquiry might lead.¹⁴² Origen found a warning to unethical speakers in Ezekiel's prophecy. Ezekiel had pronounced "woe to those who sew cushions upon every elbow or on one of them."¹⁴³ Origen suggested that "perhaps the divine Word is by this figure and token laying blame on those masters who, by their empty rhetoric and repeated promises of blessing encourage the crowd of their hearers in corruption."¹⁴⁴ Origen insisted that:

The Word of God, and the man of God, should utter what makes his hearers salvation, what encourages him to self-control, to a life of sound conduct, to everything for which a man intent upon labour not upon lust should exert himself, that he may succeed in obtaining what God has promised. When therefore anyone, well in sympathy with the morals of the crowd, in order to

charm the people who have itching ears, makes the speeches they gladly welcome, speeches that are on the borders of licence, a master of this kind is sewing cushions upon every elbow."¹⁴⁵

The Alexandrian held that "when a man . . . arouses applause rather . . . /than/ sighs," he is a seductive enemy who has soothed with "exhuberant rhetoric" instead of curing the wound.¹⁴⁶

Origen stood in sharp contrast to the prevalent sophistry of this period. The mood was typified in the following summary of ~~Origen~~ Augustine's old sophistic rhetoric:

Models /for speaking/ were men who were confounded when they uttered a solecism; they would pride themselves on the beauties of their style even if the subject were their own vices. They observed with care the laws of letters and syllables handed down to them from previous speakers, while neglecting the laws of eternal salvation. Not only were these studies vain; they were dishonest. Not so by the ordinary standards of the day. 'In all innocence I taught my pupils crafty tricks, not to enable them to secure the death of an innocent man, but on occasion to acquit a guilty one.' This was the traditional morality of rhetoric. It was not good enough for a Christian. To Augustine the whole rhetorical system was bound up with dishonesty. The greater the deceit the more the praise. Rhetoric was 'mendacious folly', oratory, wordy and polished falsehood.

Moreover the rhetorical education was aimed solely at worldly success. The object of his parents, says Augustine, was that he should be successful in this world and excel in the art of speech which ministers to human honour and false riches.¹⁴⁷

Unethical speakers were likened to pirates who stood

on the seashore to lure ships into the rocks and to take their spoil. The Alexandrian said:

It is their practice to light a beacon in the darkness of the night at sea, in the shallow places or where there are hidden rocks, so as to lure mariners in their hope of finding refuge in a port, to shipwreck and destruction. Even so this beacon light of false wisdom or false faith is lit by the princes of this world, or by the spirits of this lower air, not to provide an escape, but to bring ruin upon men who voyage over the waves of this world and the sea of life.¹⁴⁸

The Listener in the Rhetorical Process

The Alexandrian recognized the necessary cooperation of the listener in persuasive communication. He instructed that "It is necessary for you to listen to the discourse, so that after your mind is taught, you may be able to receive the subject matter of the discourse."¹⁴⁹

Origen found preaching complete only when listeners responded favorably and responsibly. The listener was needed to complete the cycle of persuasion. He likened the response of the listener to that of a man responding to a hair-cut. The man is active in that he offers himself to the barber. Persuasion was 'reciprocal.' There was need, said Origen, not only for the active persuader but cooperative acceptance.¹⁵⁰ "People who have made bad use of their

powers of hearing and have listened to foolish talk, will be made deaf" by God.¹⁵¹ He gave clear alternatives to the listener saying that, "if a man does not give heed to admonition and instruction, he gives himself up to worse; but he who seeks the truth and as a result lives accordingly, gives himself to the better."¹⁵² To Origen the listener's understanding was like a man's limb which, when used, becomes stronger; when neglected, atrophies.

The listener's manner of asking questions indicated the quality of his understanding. Origen wrote that "there is a wrong spirit and there is a right spirit in which we may ask questions about the ways of God."¹⁵³ Origen found in the Gospels those who impudently asked the Lord by what authority He did His miracles. Said Origen, they "were not even considered to deserve an answer."¹⁵⁴ Origen certified that the faithful and wise servant who asked a question because he wished to understand and to admire the wisdom of the Master would receive answers. In fact, Origen stated that the Lord knew that "secrets were not discovered by those . . . with their minds full of other affairs . . . but only by those who with a direct and single heart, with the yoke of toil, and with long hours of waking search."¹⁵⁵ Listening, then, for Origen, was the completion of the

living cycle of communication. The listener did not simply help himself, but when he responded, the teacher was helped. "Every teacher, by his very teaching, is helped in his teaching and his studies through the intelligence of his pupil. Lecturers become more competent in the very instruction they impart, when their hearers are intelligent and do not accept their words right off, but criticize them and ask questions and examine the meaning of the language used."¹⁵⁶

Summary

Origen rejected the rhetoric of the second sophistic dominant during his life. He held and practiced principles consistent with the best rhetorical tradition of the ancient world. He adapted rhetoric for the proclamation of the Christian gospel. His rhetoric was the art of making Christian teaching persuasive; it was grounded in sound knowledge and ethical purpose; and the art could be taught. The subject matter was Christian teaching.

The canons of rhetoric--invention, organization, style, delivery, memory--received important attention by implication in Origen's rhetoric. His canon of invention was concerned with discovery of truth, and selection of

those materials appropriate for the sermon and audience. The Bible was the pure rational food of the soul and was the primary source of Christian teaching. The allegorical system provided a new method for investigating Bible passages as to their literal, moral, and spiritual meanings.

In addition to Scripture, the speaker was to select compatible learning from both Christian and non-Christian sources. Sound arguments were to be enlisted from all

~~ephoras and~~ ~~organizat~~
vital innovation from Origen. He was the first to make them true discourses; Origen explained and applied definite texts instead of making running comments. The three parts of his allegorical system provided the most popular organizational form of the sermon in the middle ages. Style was a matter of adapting a form and mode of discourse to the needs of the audience. His style struck a balance between extremes; it was clear, appropriate, and forceful. While adapting to varied listeners, he recommended a style that made the message wholesome to the greatest number of individuals. Speculations about Origen's delivery varied from "eloquent" to "vulgar." The best estimate of his delivery would seem to be that his bodily and vocal expressions were commensurate to the dynamism of his content and

popularity. The concept of memory was emphasized by urging careful preparation.

Finally, the importance of ethos, audience analysis, and ethical responsibility of the speaker were stressed by Origen. He defined ethos in terms of the speaker's character and the materials of a speech. The most persuasive preacher would be the one who was the embodiment of his good message. The speech should reveal the speaker as a

~~man, a~~ ~~ill, good character, and intelligence~~

Audience analysis enabled the speaker to understand his listener and to present his message accordingly. Guided by Jesus Christ's identification with man, Origen found that the communicator speaks best when he wears the dress, and uses a style that "adapts itself to their the listener's speech and does not by its strangeness close men's ears."¹⁵⁷ The preacher was responsible to speak in such a way as to encourage self-control, sound conduct, and to pursue salvation. Any other goal made the preacher a pirate who sought to lure the hearer to shipwreck by a false beacon light.¹⁵⁸

From a critical examination of Origen's rhetorical theory it is appropriate that this study now compare and contrast Origen's rhetorical thought with the theorists

examined in chapter two.

¹Edwin Charles Dargan, A History of Preaching (Grand Rapids, 1954), II, 7.

²Dargan, pp. 7, 35.

³Richard P.C. Hanson, Origen's Doctrine of Tradition (London, 1954), p. 25; Hans von Campenhausen, The Fathers of the Greek Church, trans. Stanley Godman (New York, 1959), p. 42.

⁴Frederick Copleston, The History of Philosophy (Garden City, N.Y., 1962), II, Part I, 27-28.

⁵Origen, "Letter of Origen to Gregory," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, trans. Allan Menzies (Grand Rapids, 1965), X, 295-296.

⁶Origen, Selections from the Commentaries and Homilies of Origen, trans. R.B. Tollinton (New York, 1929), p. 175.

⁷John Donne, Sermons, ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson (Berkeley, California, 1962), IV, 202. Translation of Ad Romanos.

⁸Origen, Contra Celsum, trans. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge, Eng., 1953), p. 316.

⁹Origen, On First Principles, trans. G.W. Butterworth (New York, 1966), p. 256.

¹⁰George Kennedy, The Art of Persuasion in Greece (Princeton, N.J., 1963), p. 294.

¹¹Donald Bryant, "Rhetoric: Its Function and Its Scope," Quarterly Journal of Speech XXXIX (1953), p. 419n.

¹²Origen, On First Principles, p. 256.

¹³Charles Bigg, The Christian Platonists of Alexandria (Oxford, 1913), p. 252.

¹⁴Origen, Selections . . ., p. 49.

¹⁵Origen, Selections . . ., p. 182.

- 16 Origen, The Philocalia of Origen, trans. George Lewis (Edinburgh, 1911), p. 12.
- 17 Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 1.
- 18 Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 1.
- 19 Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 1.
- 20 Origen, On First Principles, p. 269.
- 21 Origen, On First Principles, p. 272.
- 22 Patrick Fairbairn, The Typology of Scripture (Philadelphia, 1865), I, 12.
- 23 Bernard Ramm, Protestant Biblical Interpretation (Boston, 1950), p. 21.
- 24 Origen, On First Principles, p. 297.
- 25 Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 61.
- 26 Origen, On First Principles, p. 306. cf. James J. Murphy, "Saint Augustine and Rabanus Maurus: The Genesis of Medieval Rhetoric," Western Speech XXXI (Spring, 1967), p. 92. "Rabanus . . . seems much interested in finding meaning 'beneath the surface'"
- 27 Eugene De Faye, Origen and His Work, trans. Fred Rothwell (New York, 1929), p. 43.
- 28 H.T. Kerr, Preaching in the Early Church (New York, 1942), p. 114.
- 29 Werner Jaeger, Early Christianity and Greek Paideia (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), p. 57.
- 30 Jaeger, p. 47.
- 31 Jaeger, p. 47.
- 32 Jaeger, p. 47.

³³ Origen, "The Song of Songs," Ancient Christian Writers, trans. R.P. Lawson, ed. Johannes Quasten and Joseph C. Plumpe (Westminster, Maryland, 1957), XXVI, 61.

³⁴ René Cadiou, Origen: His Life at Alexandria, trans. John A. Southwell (pseud.) (St. Louis, 1944), p. 238; P.R. Coleman-Norton, "Polyglot," Encyclopedia Americana (New York, 1957), XXII, 331.

³⁵ Origen, Selections . . . , pp. 156-157; cf. Leviticus 26:10 (RSV).

³⁶ Origen, Selections . . . , pp. 177-179.

³⁷ Proverbs 5:15.

³⁸ Origen, Selections . . . , p. 91.

³⁹ Origen, Selections . . . , p. 91.

⁴⁰ Origen, The Philocalia . . . , p. 91.

⁴¹ Origen, On First Principles, p. 115.

⁴² Origen, Selections . . . , p. 49.

⁴³ Origen, Selections . . . , p. 51.

⁴⁴ Origen, Selections . . . , p. 3.

⁴⁵ Origen, Selections . . . , p. 162.

⁴⁶ Gregory Thaumaturgus, "Oration and Panegyric Addressed to Origen," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, trans. S.D.F. Salmond, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (New York, 1926), VI, 32.

⁴⁷ Origen, "Letter from Origen . . . ," pp. 295-296.

⁴⁸ Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 519.

⁴⁹ Origen, "Dialogue with Heraclides," Alexandrian Christianity, trans. and ed. Oulton and Chadwick (Philadelphia, 1944), p. 280.

- 50^o Origen, The Philocalia . . ., pp. 79, 90, 86, 96.
- 51^o Origen, On First Principles, pp. 104, 105, 106.
- 52^o Origen, "Genesim Homilia," II. Patrologiae Graecae XII. ed. J.P. Migne (Turnholti, Belgium, /n.d./), p. 223.
- 53^o Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 232.
- 54^o Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 167.
- 55^o Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 179.
- 56^o Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 306.
- 57^o Origen, Selections . . ., pp. 98-99.
- 58^o Origen, Selections . . ., p. 209.
- 59^o Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 232.
- 60^o Origen, "Commentary on John," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, trans. Allan Menzies (Grand Rapids, 1965), X, 370-371.
- 61^o Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 217.
- 62^o Origen, Contra Celsum, pp. 83, 232; Origen, On First Principles, p. 143.
- 63^o Origen, Selections . . ., pp. 88, 89, 91; Origen, "Commentary in Joannis," IV. p. 816. Patrologia Graecae. XIV, ed. J.P. Migne (Turnholti, Belgium, /n.d./).
- 64^o Henry Chadwick, Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition (New York, 1966), p. 80.
- 65^o Harry Caplan, "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching," Speculum IV (July, 1929), pp. 282-290.
- 66^o Origen, "The Song of Songs," Ancient Christian Writers, p. 58.

- 67 Origen, "The Song of Songs," p. 59.
- 68 Origen, III. Patrologiae Graecae, XIII, ed. J.P. Migne (Turnholti, Belgium, 1857), p. 832.
- 69 John A. Broadus, Lectures on the History of Preaching (New York, 1896), p. 56.
- 70 John A. Broadus, On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons (New York, 1944), p. 9.
- 71 Broadus, Lectures . . ., pp. 45-46.
- 72 Dargan, A History of Preaching, I, 41.
- 73 Samuel Johnson, "Preaching," Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. Herzog and Schaff (Toronto, 1891), III, 1883.
- 74 Johnson, p. 1883.
- 75 Johnson, p. 1883.
- 76 J. Stalker, "Preaching," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh, 1930), X, 215.
- 77 "Preaching," Encyclopedia Britannica (Chicago, 1962), XVIII, 424.
- 78 Origen, "On Prayer and Exhortation to Martyrdom," Ancient Christian Writers, trans. John J. O'Meara, ed. Johannes Quasten and Joseph C. Plumpe (Westminster, Maryland, 1954), XIX, 137-138.
- 79 Aristotle, Rhetoric, trans. W. Rhys Roberts (New York, 1954), p. 167.
- 80 Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 63.
- 81 Cadiou, p. 304.
- 82 Cadiou, p. 20.
- 83 Gregory Thaumaturgus, "Panegyric Addressed to Origen," VI, 78. Patrologiae Graecae X 1072, ed. J.P.

Migne (Turnholti, Belgium, 1857).

⁸⁴ Cadiou, p. 18.

⁸⁵ Cadiou, p. 18.

⁸⁶ Cadiou, p. 18.

⁸⁷ Cadiou, p. 19.

⁸⁸ Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 316.

⁸⁹ Cadiou, p. 194; Quoting Origen, "Stromata," VI, Patrologiae Graecae, XI, ed. J.P. Migne (Turnholti, Belgium, [n.d.]), p. 101.

⁹⁰ Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 63.

⁹¹ Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 63.

⁹² Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 63.

⁹³ Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 64; cf. I Cor. 2:4ff.

⁹⁴ Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 69.

⁹⁵ Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 70.

⁹⁶ Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 36.

⁹⁷ Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 70.

⁹⁸ Hans von Campenhausen, The Fathers of the Greek Church, trans. Stanley Godman (New York, 1959), p. 49.

⁹⁹ Charles Bigg, The Origins of Christianity, ed. T.B. Strong (Oxford, 1909), p. 423.

¹⁰⁰ Dargan, I, 54.

¹⁰¹ Dargan, I, 52.

¹⁰² Dargan, I, 51.

- 103 Cadiou, p. 59.
- 104 Cadiou, p. 20.
- 105 Cadiou, p. 18.
- 106 David Smith, The Art of Preaching (New York, [n.d.]), p. 193.
- 107 Gregory, VI, 21ff.
- 108 Jean Daniélou, The Life of Origen, trans. Walter Mitchell (New York, 1955), p. 24.
- 109 M. Reu, Homiletics, trans. Albert Steinhauser (Chicago, 1922), p. 515.
- 110 Cadiou, p. 18.
- 111 Aristotle, p. 91.
- 112 Aristotle, p. 25. "achieved by what the speaker says."
- 113 Aristotle, p. 25.
- 114 Origen, Selections . . ., pp. 196-197.
- 115 Cadiou, p. 22. "Philosophical life" means one of good character.
- 116 Gregory, VI, 6.
- 117 Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 6.
- 118 Origen, Selections . . ., p. 47. cf. Plato, Phaedrus, p. 71. "Steed of wickedness . . . pulls down."
- 119 Origen, Selections . . ., pp. 196-197.
- 120 Origen, Selections . . ., p. 157.
- 121 Aristotle, p. 25.
- 122 Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 332.

- 123 Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 332.
- 124 Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 341.
- 125 Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 347.
- 126 Origen, On First Principles, p. 128.
- 127 Plato, Phaedrus, trans. Hackforth (Indianapolis, 1952), p. 161. Audience analysis is meant.
- 128 Origen, Selections . . ., p. 136.
- 129 Origen, Selections . . ., p. 136. cf. Matt. 24:45
- 130 H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams The Ministry and Historical Perspectives (New York, 1956), p. 47.
- 131 Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 50.
- 132 Kenneth Burke, "Rhetoric Old and New," The Art of Rhetoric, ed. Francis Connolly and Gerald Levin (New York, 1968), pp. 446-447.
- 133 Burke, pp. 446-447.
- 134 Origen, Selections . . ., p. 66.
- 135 Acts 16:3; 21:24.
- 136 Origen, Selections . . ., p. 66.
- 137 Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 70.
- 138 Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 70.
- 139 Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 70.
- 140 Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 70.
- 141 Plato, Phaedrus, trans. H.N. Fowler in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1960).

- 142 Henry Chadwick, "Origen, A Great Christian Thinker," The Listener (July 8, 1954), p. 67.
- 143 Exekiel 13:18.
- 144 Origen, Selections . . ., p. 175.
- 145 Origen, Selections . . ., p. 175.
- 146 Origen, Selections . . ., p. 176.
- 147 M.L. Clarke, Rhetoric at Rome (New York, 1963), p. 150.
- 148 Origen, Selections . . ., pp. 154-155. cf. Job 6:4; 2 Cor 11:14.
- 149 Origen, "Joan," II, Patrologiae Graecae XIV, ed. J.P. Migne (Turnholt, Belgium /n.d./), p. 172.
- 150 Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 373.
- 151 Origen, Selections . . ., p. 208.
- 152 Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 182.
- 153 Origen, Selections . . ., p. 158.
- 154 Origen, Selections . . ., pp. 158-159.
- 155 Origen, Selections . . ., pp. 159-160.
- 156 Origen, Selections . . ., p. 169.
- 157 Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 70.
- 158 Origen, Selections . . ., pp. 154-155.

CHAPTER V

ORIGEN'S PLACE IN ANCIENT RHETORIC

Origen's rhetorical thought is compared and contrasted, in this chapter, with that which dominated ancient theory--classical, Plato, Stoic, sophistic, and Christian. Primary attention is given to the concept and subject matter of rhetoric, treatment of the canons, rhetoric's function as an art, the ethical concerns of the art, and finally, viewpoints of rhetoric's role in society.

The Concept of Rhetoric

Origen's concept of rhetoric is most closely related to the classical, Stoic, and Platonic strains of rhetorical development. He believed that rhetoric was the art of enhancing "truth";¹ the classical notion was that the art energized truth.² Plato held that, to be an art, it had to be founded on a conception of truth and it must work to make truth prevail.³ The Stoic understood that rhetoric was the art of "speaking well in exposition."⁴ The principal difference among these orientations was the conception of truth, not the office and function of rhetoric. The

sophistic idea of the art of rhetoric was a contrast to the above concepts. Rhetoric as the art of enhancing, energizing, and explaining truth to the ends and demands of the audience was not dominant in the sophistic rhetorical stream, especially during the second sophistic. Emphasis was on the speaker and his "straining for brilliance of style."⁵ In the second sophistic period, Origen stands out, even as St. Augustine did later, as one who believed, taught, and spoke in a manner which disavows ~~him~~ ~~in with~~ the sophists. Origen's rhetoric is seen to be in line with the best rhetorical traditions. However one might view his influence, his work certainly stands as an effort to keep a vital rhetoric alive. It met Plato's demand that the art must embrace truth, shared the classical and Augustinian goal of giving effectiveness to truth, and was attuned to the Stoic concept that one should speak "well in exposition."⁶ He rejected the second sophistic as a "seductive enemy . . . which spends itself in exuberant rhetoric."⁷

Origen's view of subject matter differed from that of classical and Stoic rhetoricians; his concept of rhetoric was shaped by his Christian commitment. Hence, he saw rhetoric as an art for discovering and presenting the truth of the Scripture. In contrast, the subject matter

of Classical Rhetoric was linked to investigation and grasp of reasonable and persuasive probabilities, which were to be used in forensic, epideioteic, and deliberative speaking. Plato saw subject matter as a medicine, necessary to cure the ills of the body politic; it included the arguments and appeals necessary to the implementation of justice and temperance in man. Origen's sophist contemporaries spent their energies in matters which "lost touch with real

⁸ ~~Origen's Christian predecessors and contemporaries~~ shared the Alexandrian's emphasis on the Scripture as material for speaking; but they largely rejected his emphasis on its presentation. St. Augustine's concept of rhetoric's subject matter is like that of Origen; he was concerned with the discovery of Scripture's truth and its effective presentation.⁹

Canons of Rhetoric, Invention

Origen did not speak of the canons of rhetoric-- invention, arrangement, style, delivery, and memory; he treated them by implication, as did Aristotle¹⁰ and Plato.¹¹ On the first canon, invention, Origen was sometimes consonant, sometimes dissonant, with the views expressed in non-Christian rhetoric. Like Plato, Origen made invention

a "philosophical study . . . , concerned with a method of investigation."¹² Like Plato and the Stoics, Origen sought ideal, scriptural, truth for his materials of speaking.¹³ Instead of seeking ideal truth, classical rhetoricians sought reasonable probabilities¹⁴ or "likely conjecture about useful things."¹⁵ Rhetoricians not only differed in their concept of subject matter, they also held different views of the means for pursuing it. Plato, for instance, ~~maintained that the philosopher mined truth by means of~~ dialectic.¹⁶ The Stoic, likewise, sought truth by means of dialectic.¹⁷ Classical rhetoricians carefully devised topics or lines of arguments to lead the speaker to persuasive probabilities.¹⁸ Unlike other theorists, sophists were little concerned about truth or the most reasonable belief; Isocrates accused them of inventing "false statements on any subject."¹⁹ Origen devised the allegorical system to interpret or discover truth in Scripture.²⁰ That system is outlined in chapter four of this study.

Origen and St. Augustine shared similar views on the method of discovering the message of Scripture. Origen held that false beliefs often came about because the "Scripture is not understood in its spiritual sense, but is interpreted only according to the bare letter."²¹

Augustine used similar language in his instruction regarding scriptural interpretation. Of the errors of the strict literalist, Augustine wrote:

He who follows the letter ~~takes~~ figurative expressions as though they were literal and does not refer the things signified to anything else There is a miserable servitude of the spirit in this habit of taking signs for things, so that one is not able to raise the eye of the mind above things that are corporal and created to drink in eternal light.²²

Numerous other sources suggest the close parallel between *Origen's and Augustine's views on the allegorical system of* extracting truth from the Bible.²³ Of the similarity in *St. Augustine's and Origen's inventional system*, Lubac maintained: "leur hermeneutique est la même. Les exégèses du second rappellent quelquefois de très près celles du premier [the science of interpretation is the same. The exegesis of the second [Augustine] recalls very closely that of the first]."²⁴

In addition to finding inventional materials in Scripture, Origen and Augustine recommended the use of non-Christian thought to supplement Christian arguments. Similarity in expression and content may be seen in Origen's and Augustine's reasoning on the validity of non-Christian thought. Both linked the symbolism of the riches of Egypt--silver, gold, fine clothing--to non-Christian thought;

both noted that the people of God questioned the use of pagan spoils for any service. Both noted God's command to use the riches for the worship of God; and both pointed to Egypt's disuse of those riches. Finally, both lifted the literal story to the spiritual, recommending that when the Christian leaves the old culture, he is to sieze the riches of non-Christian thought and convert them for Christian uses.²⁵

~~Concisely, then, Origen's search for ideal truth was~~ in common with the Stoics, Plato, and early Christians. He differed from the classical rhetoricians who sought only probability, and he rejected the empty rhetoric of the second sophistic. Dialectic guided Plato and the Stoics to discovery of truth, but the allegorical system guided Origen and St. Augustine in discovery of truth. The classical rhetorician devised lines of argument to demonstrate probability.

Organization

Origen's organizational precepts and practice were also in harmony with the best traditions of rhetoric. His penchant for speech unity, appropriate relationships of speech parts, agreed with Plato's view that "every discourse

must be organized, like a living being . . . , /not/ headless or footless, but to have a middle and members, composed in fitting relation to each other and to the whole."²⁶ He shared common concern with classical placement of the speech's parts in "advantageous places" or "proper distribution."²⁷

In the organization of the sermon, Origen was divergent from most of the apostolic fathers, but shared similar views with St. Augustine and other medieval preachers.²⁸ The form of sermons of the earlier fathers was an unpretentious conversation or talk. Logical order was not important to them; and seldom did they prepare outlines in advance. Scripture was used in the earlier sermons for extended quotation and application; it was unlike the later practice of using a Bible passage as a textual basis for an expositional sermon.²⁹ A major contribution was made by Origen to Christian rhetoric in his teaching on sermon composition. He provided a theoretical basis for the organization of sermons; his three-part interpretive system--literal, moral, and spiritual-- provided a pattern for the popular development of the main divisions of the medieval sermon.³⁰ Origen also shared the classical view that arguments are to be strategically placed lest the

speaker's cause be weakened³¹ and he urged with Aristotle that speech organization required at least a proposition and its proof.³²

Frequent examples may be cited to show the similarity between Origen's and St. Augustine's advice concerning the proper distribution of sermon parts. Origen's discourses on the "Song of Songs" consistently followed the pattern of the allegorical system: he would consider literal, then moral, and finally, spiritual aspects of his subject. For example, Origen would often begin his sermon with such a statement as: "This is the content of the actual story."³³ The transition to the next point would begin: "but let us see if the inner meaning also can be supplied along these lines. Let it be the church who longs for union with Christ."³⁴ In this instance, Origen presents both the moral and spiritual aspects as one point. The Bishop of Hippo also favored this three-part division of the sermon. He said: "In every sacred book one should note the things of eternity /spiritual/ . . . , the facts of history /literal/ . . . , /and/ the moral precepts /moral/ which are enjoined."³⁵ His adherence to this pattern may be seen in numerous of his sermons and writings. Typical of these are his expositions of the "four rivers of

Eden,"³⁶ Lazarus' "four days in the grave,"³⁷ and the "days of creation."³⁸ Apt arrangement was a work of art;³⁹ before the time of Augustine, Origen established the pattern followed to make sermons true discourses.⁴⁰

Style, Delivery, Memory

Origen recommended a style that, like well-cooked food, benefitted the greatest number of people.⁴¹ Origen's desire to adjust the Christian message successfully to all kinds of people led him to support a style which would be "popular and profitable."⁴² In this view, he shows an affinity with Cicero's notion that style is "fitting the proper language to the invented matter."⁴³ He admired the style of the Stoic, Epictetus, who by his simplicity of language attracted the common man and made him "conscious of the benefits to be derived from his writings";⁴⁴ Plato's polished style, Origen held, "benefits only a few."⁴⁵ Origen agreed with Plato's precept that the communicator must adapt to his listener, "offering to the complex soul elaborate and harmonious discourses, and simple talks to the simple soul."⁴⁶ The Alexandrian castigated the sophists of his day for attempting to seduce hearers with charming speeches;⁴⁷ their style was mere "verbosity and stylish

construction."⁴⁸

Origen shared Augustine's viewpoint that the speaker should sometimes neglect a more cultivated language, not caring for what sounds elegant, "but what well indicates . . . what he wishes to show He must avoid all words which do not teach."⁴⁹ But Origen and St. Augustine held that the "rational food" provided by the Scriptures must be more than clear; it must be spiced with a style that will make truth "such as will win everybody's ear."⁵⁰

On account of the "fastidiousness of many, even that necessary food . . . must be seasoned" if the listener is to be delighted, retained, and moved to act;⁵¹ such a view is consistent with the Ciceronian position that held that speaking is to teach, delight, and move.⁵² In addition to a language which delights, Origen and St. Augustine sought style which reflects the spirit, not simply the letter of the Christian message; proper style elevated the listener above the sometimes erroneous literal understanding of a message.⁵³ Once again, Origen's allegorical system lifted the Scripture from the preoccupation solely with the literal meaning, and allowed the speaker to find meaning that was spiritual, universal, and applicable for all time. Most importantly, Origen saw the need and

value of audience adaptation; an appropriate pattern of composition and an attractive style of expression were natural means to that end.

Like Plato, St. Augustine, and Aristotle, Origen said little about delivery. The reason delivery was slighted in Origen's writings was probably his own reaction to the empty sophistic oratory of his day. Origen openly rejected the "resonant and melodious" sophistic speeches, designed only to charm the hearers.⁵⁴ In light of our general knowledge of Origen, however, it would seem likely that he would have had no quarrel with Cicero's definition that delivery was "the control of voice and body in a manner suitable to the dignity of the subject matter and the style."⁵⁵ St. Augustine was brief on the subject of delivery. The bishop, in line with the teachings of Ciceronian rhetoric, instructed that the orator should speak:

in a subdued manner when he teaches something, in a moderate manner when he condemns or praises something Then those great things should be spoken in the grand manner in a way appropriate to the persuasion of their minds /He should speak/ in a grand manner if he is moving an adverse mind to conversion The orator should speak in a grand style of how great . . . evil is, so that men may be averted from it.⁵⁶

The biographies of Origen and St. Augustine indicate that they conducted themselves freely in their delivery.⁵⁷

Cadiou described Origen's delivery as that of an "experienced lecturer" who knows his subject and kept "at most, a brief outline," allowing himself freedom of bodily movement and vocal expression.⁵⁸ Brown believed that there could be little room in Augustine's approach for

the relaxed mood of the contemplative. An audience will identify itself only with an excited man: and Augustine would be excited for them; vehement . . . for peace, fear, and guilt Augustine's audience reacted with shouts and groans.⁵⁹

St. Augustine was dismayed that falsehood should be presented eloquently and truth carelessly. He asked: "Should they, urging the minds of their listeners into error, ardently exhort them, moving them by speech so that they terrify, sadden, and exhilarate them, while the defenders of truth are sluggish, cold, and somnolent?"⁶⁰ Hence, Origen's and Augustine's delivery were likely to have been that free delivery of men who longed to communicate messages of life and death. The popularity of both men suggests that their materials and their expression of those materials were dynamic. The canon of memory--"the firm mental grasp of matter and words"⁶¹ --was untouched by Origen, except to insist that the sermon, "is to have all the possible

stability in its construction . . . , to give it strength and fitness.⁶² He, likewise, urged careful and exhaustive preparation for speaking.⁶³

Rhetoric and Art

Plato insisted that rhetoric must be founded on a conception of truth in order to be considered an art,⁶⁴ Origen's rhetoric had such a basis.⁶⁵ He regularly defined, classified, analyzed his subjects. He commended the speaker who understood the soul; and he urged adaptation to the listener's nature.⁶⁶ Finally, he sought to speak things "pleasing to God."⁶⁷ In society, Origen held that Christian rhetoric would be a tool to prepare the Christian for citizenship in the kingdom of man and God;⁶⁸ the classical rhetorician held that the art would foster effective citizenship in the kingdom of men on earth.⁶⁹

Ethics

Origen's ethical stance was consistent with Quintilian's view that the ideal orator would be a "good man speaking well" and the Stoic insistence that rhetoric was "useful and good as long as it was controlled by a responsible and moral orator."⁷⁰ Origen held that sound and

saving speech "cannot be in the soul of a sinner."⁷¹ He argued that unethical speakers would lure men to destruction like pirates who put up false light-houses to destroy mariners.⁷² In such a stance, Origen foreshadowed St. Augustine's statement that the grandest deceiver was the one "who spoke so eloquently that falsehood is thought to be true,"⁷³

Origen considered unethical the man who "sought applause" for himself instead of healing for the listener.⁷⁴ Similarly, Augustine confessed, "I did not think that I had done anything when I heard them applauding, but $\overline{I}$ knew I had $\overline{I}$ when I saw them weeping Tears indicated that they were persuaded."⁷⁵ Origen's ethical stance urged the speaker to "please God." As to be expected, Origen rejected the later sophists because they, "by their empty rhetoric . . . , encourage the crowd" in corruption.⁷⁶

Summary

However one may look at Origen, he stands as one who upheld views which are always present in a vital, viable rhetoric. His rhetoric is to be classed with the best traditions of rhetorical thought. With Plato, he asked that the art embrace truth. With the classical rhetoricians

and Augustine, Origen made it his goal to give effectiveness to the truth as he understood it; with the Stoics, he believed in the value of the clear exposition of it; and he rejected the second sophistic because of its disregard for truth.

Origen's Christian commitment led him to see rhetoric as the art for discovering and presenting the truth of the Scripture. By contrast, the classical subject matter was ~~linked to investigation and grasp of reasonable probabilities~~. Plato saw subject matter as medicine for curing the woes of the body politic. Origen and St. Augustine held common views on the subject matter of rhetoric; it was the Scripture and it was compatible non-Christian learning.

Like Plato and Aristotle, Origen did not name the canons except by implication; identification of the canons was done best by Cicero. Invention, for Origen, was a philosophical study. Contrary to Isocrates and classical rhetoricians, who sought likely conjecture about useful things, Origen sought ideal truth, resident in the Scripture, more akin to the aims of Plato and the Stoics, who sought truth through a dialectical system. Origen taught the use of an allegorical method for the discernment of truth in the Scriptures. He also advised that the truth of

Scriptures had to be supplemented by rational arguments taken from non-Christian thought, which were validated according to their consistency with Scripture. Earlier church fathers agreed with Origen's discovery of truth in the Bible, but they largely rejected any introduction of non-Christian thought. St. Augustine shared Origen's inventional views on both counts--Christian and non-Christian.

Along with his systematizing of the allegorical method of analysis, Origen's views on sermon organization are probably his most important contribution to keeping a vital rhetoric alive and for making Christian rhetoric a sound theory of communication. His concept of sermon arrangement stands in marked contrast to that of early church leaders. He taught the use of the allegorical pattern of investigation as being a useful way of organizing one's preaching. It became the accepted way of sermon organization throughout the middle ages.

Style, in Origen's system, was different from the sophists, but similar to the views of Plato and Aristotle. Style was to be a means of making truth clear, attractive, and compelling. Furthermore, Origen held that proper style elevated the listener above the mere letter, which kills,

to the spirit, which sees essential, universal, and timeless truths.

Delivery and memory were concepts hardly touched in Origen's system. However, it may be assumed that Origen was dynamic in his vocal and bodily expressions to a complementary degree with the rest of his abilities. He consistently attracted large followings among Christians and non-Christians. It seems likely that he must have had appropriately powerful delivery. He adapted to the audience, the subject, and the occasion in other situations; there is no reason to believe Origen did not adapt in delivery. The concept of memory was implicitly treated; he urged the speaker to be well-prepared spiritually and mentally.

Origen's ideal orator had to be an ethical man; he insisted that rhetoric should be useful for society. The speaker was to know the truth of the Scriptures; he was to be the embodiment of the message he proclaimed; and he was to have the concern of the audience's welfare, not his own aggrandizement.

Origen contributed to the Christianization of rhetoric. He borrowed valuable concepts from non-Christian rhetoricians and invented others, such as the allegorical

method as a means of discovery and organization of the preacher's message. Many of his ideas may be founded in the speaking and writing of later Christian leaders, principally among them is St. Augustine who has been given credit for "renewing" rhetoric. This study indicates that Origen's views on rhetoric may be considered a foundation for the acceptance of St. Augustine's rhetorical concepts, if not an overlooked and underrated contribution in its own right.

¹ Origen, Selections from the Commentaries and Homilies of Origen, trans. R.B. Tollinton (New York, 1929), p. 175.

² Aristotle, Rhetoric, trans. W. Rhys Roberts (New York, 1954), p. 24.

³ Plato, Phaedrus, trans. H.N. Fowler in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), p. 517.

⁴ George Kennedy, The Art of Persuasion in Greece (Princeton, N.J., 1963), p. 294.

⁵ Donald L. Clark, Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance (New York, 1963), pp. 41, 42.

⁶ Origen, Selections . . ., p. 163.

⁷ Origen, Selections . . ., p. 276.

⁸ M.L. Clarke, Rhetoric at Rome (New York, 1963), p. 85.

⁹ St. Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, trans. D.W. Robertson, Jr. (Indianapolis, 1958), pp. 117, 118.

¹⁰ Aristotle, pp. 19-218.

¹¹ Plato, Phaedrus, p. 571.

¹² Donald Bryant, "Rhetoric: Its Function and Its Scope," Quarterly Journal of Speech XXXIX (1953), p. 424.

¹³ Origen, Selections . . ., pp. 49, 181.

¹⁴ Aristotle, p. 27.

¹⁵ Isocrates, Helen, trans. La Rue Van Hook in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), III, 63.

¹⁶ Plato, Phaedrus, p. 547.

¹⁷ Cicero, Brutus, trans. G.L. Hendrickson in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1952), p. 269.

- ¹⁸ Aristotle, p. 142. cf. Kennedy, pp. 306-314.
- ¹⁹ Isocrates, Helen, III, 61, 63.
- ²⁰ Origen, The Philocalia of Origen, trans. George Lewis (Edinburgh, 1911), pp. 1, 12.
- ²¹ Origen, On First Principles, trans. G.W. Butterworth (New York, 1966), p. 272.
- ²² St. Augustine, trans. Robertson, p. 84.
- ²³ H. Flanders Dunbar, Symbolism in Medieval Thought (New York, 1961), pp. 263, 269. cf. St. Augustine, trans. Robertson, pp. xv, xi, 85, 86; Harry E. Fosdick, The Modern Use of the Bible (New York, 1924), p. 80; F. Van Der Meer, Augustine the Bishop, trans. Brian Battershaw and G.R. Lamb (New York, 1961), p. 445; Eugene Kevane, Augustine, the Educator (Westminster, Maryland, 1964), p. 133; Yngve Brilioth, A Brief History of Preaching, trans. Karl E. Mattson (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 56.; Adolph Harnack, History of Dogma, trans. James Millar (London, 1912), III, 204.
- ²⁴ Henri de Lubac, Exégèse Médiévale (/n.c./, France, 1959), p. 214.
- ²⁵ Origen, "Letter of Origen to Gregory," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, trans. Allan Menzies (Grand Rapids, 1965), X, 295-296; St. Augustine, trans. Robertson, p. 75.
- ²⁶ Plato, Phaedrus, p. 529.
- ²⁷ Donald L. Clark, Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education (Morningside Heights, N.Y., 1959), p. 8; Cicero, De Inventionione, trans. H.M. Hubbell in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), pp. 19, 21; Origen, Selections . . ., p. 162.
- ²⁸ Robert E. McNally, The Bible in the Early Middle Ages (Westminster, Maryland, 1959), pp. 53, 54.
- ²⁹ Edwin Charles Dargan, A History of Preaching (Grand Rapids, 1954), I, 41.

³⁰ Harry Caplan, "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching," Speculum (July, 1929), IV, pp. 282-291. cf. Origen, "Song of Songs," Ancient Christian Writers, trans. R.P. Lawson, ed. Johannes Quasten and Joseph C. Plumpe (Westminster, Maryland, 1957), XXVI, 58, 59.

³¹ Origen, Contra Celsum, trans. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge, Eng., 1953), p. 306; Aristotle, Rhetoric, pp. 199-200; Clark, pp. 79, 80.

³² Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 232; Aristotle, p. 199.

³³ Origen, "The Song of Songs," XXVI, 58, 59.

³⁴ Origen, "The Song of Songs," XXVI, 59.

³⁵ McNally, The Bible . . ., trans. from Augustine's De Genesi Ad Litteram 1, 1 (CSEL 28, 3), p. 3; Francois Fenelon, Dialogue in Eloquence, trans. Wilbur S. Howell, (Princeton, N.J., 1951), p. 150.

³⁶ Fosdick, p. 80.

³⁷ St. Augustin/sic/, "St. John," The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, trans. John Gibb (Grand Rapids, 1956), VII, 274.

³⁸ St. Augustin/sic/, "St. John," p. 65.

³⁹ Origen, III, Patrologiae Graecae XIII, ed. J.P. Migne (Turnholt, Belgium, 1857), pp. 832-833.

⁴⁰ John A. Broadus, Lectures on the History of Preaching (New York, 1896), p. 56.

⁴¹ Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 69.

⁴² Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 63.

⁴³ Cicero, De Inventione, p. 19; cf. Aristotle, p. 167.

⁴⁴ Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 63.

- ⁴⁵Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 63.
- ⁴⁶Plato, Phaedrus, p. 571; Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 63; cf. St. Augustine, trans. Robertson, p. 123.
- ⁴⁷Origen, Selections . . ., pp. 154, 155, 175, 176.
- ⁴⁸Origen, Contra Celsum, p. 155.
- ⁴⁹St. Augustine, trans. Robertson, pp. 133, 134; cf. Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 70.
- ⁵⁰Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 63.
- ⁵¹St. Augustine, trans. Robertson, p. 136.
- ⁵²Cicero, De Optimo Genere Oratorum, trans. H.M. Hubbell in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), p. 357.
- ⁵³Origen, On First Principles, p. 272; St. Augustine, trans. Robertson, p. 84; cf. Ruth Wallerstein, Studies of Seventeenth Century Poetics (Madison, 1950), pp. 29, 30.
- ⁵⁴Origen, Selections . . ., p. 177.
- ⁵⁵Cicero, De Inventione, p. 19.
- ⁵⁶St. Augustine, trans. Robertson, p. 145.
- ⁵⁷David Smith, The Art of Preaching (New York, [n. d.]), p. 193; Dargan, A History of Preaching, I, 103.
- ⁵⁸René Cadiou, Origen: His Life at Alexandria, trans. John A. Southwell (pseud.) (St. Louis, 1944), p. 18; M. Reu, Homiletics, trans. Albert Steinhauser (Chicago, 1922), p. 515.
- ⁵⁹Peter Brown, Augustine of Hippo (Los Angeles, 1967), p. 252.
- ⁶⁰St. Augustine, trans. Robertson, p. 118.
- ⁶¹Cicero, De Inventione, pp. 19, 21.

- ⁶² Origen, Selections . . . , p. 107.
- ⁶³ Origen, Selections . . . , p. 91.
- ⁶⁴ Plato, Phaedrus, p. 571.
- ⁶⁵ Origen, Selections . . . , p. 255.
- ⁶⁶ H. Richard Niebuhr and Daniel D. Williams, The Ministry in Historical Perspectives (New York, 1956), p. 47; cf. Origen, The Philocalia . . . , p. 50.
- ⁶⁷ Origen, The Philocalia . . . , p. 8.
- ⁶⁸ Origen, Selections . . . , pp. 47, 175.
- ⁶⁹ Isocrates, Antidosis, trans. George Norlin in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), II, 327; cf. Cicero, De Oratore, trans. E.W. Sutton in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), I, 23.
- ⁷⁰ Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, trans. H.E. Butler in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), IV, 357; cf. Kennedy, p. 293.
- ⁷¹ Origen, Selections . . . , p. 47.
- ⁷² Origen, Selections . . . , pp. 154-155.
- ⁷³ St. Augustine, trans. Robertson, p. 121.
- ⁷⁴ Origen, Selections . . . , pp. 175, 176.
- ⁷⁵ St. Augustine, trans. Robertson, p. 160.
- ⁷⁶ Origen, Selections . . . , p. 175.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

Historians of rhetoric have long maintained that from Quintilian to St. Augustine (first to fourth centuries A.D.), the dominant rhetoric was sophistic; as the art of persuasion to influence men in decisions of state, rhetoric was in decline. St. Augustine, at the end of the fourth century, wrote the *De Doctrina Christiana*, which has been considered the primary force for bridging the gap from classical to Christian rhetoric. Baldwin claimed that Augustine "begins rhetoric anew."¹ This study was made to show that Origen's (185-254 A.D.) contributions to rhetoric during the second sophistic have been neglected, even though Origen had influenced numerous key concepts recognized by historians.² This study was also made to help fill in the gaps of knowledge in the history of rhetoric from the first to the fourth centuries A.D., and in particular, to delineate the relationships between Origen's views on rhetoric and the main currents of ancient

rhetorical thought.

To discover the significance of Origen's contribution to rhetorical theory, it was first necessary to examine the dominant streams of rhetorical theory and pedagogy--classical, Platonic, Stoic, sophistic, and Christian--from the fifth century B.C. to the fifth century A.D. These streams of thought were investigated in chapter two; concepts of the function and scope of rhetoric, views of the five arts or canons of rhetoric--invention, organization, style, delivery, and memory, understanding of rhetoric as an art, and the ethical responsibility of the user of the art in society were outlined. Chapter three observed the many influences in Origen's life which prepared him to adapt non-Christian rhetoric to the art of Christian preaching. Origen's family, city, education, travels, and friends were studied to note their effect on his development as a rhetorician. Origen's rhetorical precepts and practices were studied in chapter four with reference to his concepts of the nature, function, and scope of rhetoric. These concepts were explored in the same fashion that chapter two examined the various strains of ancient rhetoric. Finally, the goal in chapter five was to relate Origen's rhetorical thought with that of the

classical, Platonic, Stoic, sophistic, and Christian viewpoints.

How did Origen's personal development affect his growth as a rhetorician? He was born to parents for whom the ideals and practices of Christianity were of primary concern; his father, Leonidas, taught his son to understand and to love Scripture as a source of divine truth; and he encouraged the youth to penetrate beyond superficial interpretations in a manner which was to prepare Origen to systematize the allegorical method of scriptural investigation. Leonidas also instructed Origen in non-Christian thought and its complementary value to Christianity;³ early church fathers had virtually abandoned non-Christian learning.⁴ In his native Alexandria, Origen found libraries containing classical, Stoic, sophistic, Hebrew, and Christian writings. This world center of trade and scholarship brought Origen into contact with scholars of philosophy, rhetoric, theology, and the sciences; there, Oriental, Egyptian, Greek, and Roman cultures interacted. In Alexandria, Origen enjoyed access to the world's finest schools; rhetoric was the principal subject of instruction for all young men. In the Christian academy, his instructor, the cosmopolitan Clement, further encouraged the

young Alexandrian to adopt compatible non-Christian thought. Furthermore, Origen's world travels allowed him access to the great scholars of Caesarea, Rome, and Athens. Finally, Origen's position of teaching, particularly the advanced instruction of numerous converts from higher cultural and intellectual strata, accelerated his development as a rhetorician and synthesizer of Christian and non-Christian thought. "Origen was a great apostle fired with zeal and /he/ answered this need . . . /of/ the more educated people."⁵ His early life, education, and associates prepared him to revitalize rhetoric and to adapt the best of the art as a means of making Christian truth persuasive.

Classical rhetoricians--Aristotle, Isocrates, Cicero, and Quintilian conceived of rhetoric as a verbal art based upon sound knowledge and ethical purpose; it sought persuasion on matters of the judicial, legislative, and civic occasions. Rhetoric, for them, was concerned with weighing probabilities, in order to discern and use "reasoned beliefs" rather than certainties. The classical rhetorician regularly conceived that the office of rhetoric was one of discovery, composition, and presentation of ideas, in terms of the five rhetorical arts, or canons: invention, arrangement, style, delivery, and memory which

were best defined by Cicero.⁶ Invention was the discovery of plausible arguments; arrangement was the proper distribution of the arguments; style clothed the ideas with appropriate language; memory was the mental grasp of ideas and words; and delivery was the control of vocal and bodily expression in a way fitting to the occasion and subject.

Classical rhetoricians considered rhetoric an art because its principles could be studied to know why some succeeded and others failed.⁷ These rhetoricians reasoned that persuasion was not innately evil; on the contrary, the study and practice of rhetoric was a positive social good.⁸ Although Plato denied that rhetoric was an art, as taught in his time, he allowed for an ideal rhetoric based upon truth and dealing with matters which would heal the body politic.⁹ Stoic rhetoric was founded upon the ideal that truth produced its own persuasiveness; rhetoric was the science of "speaking well in exposition."¹⁰ The sophist was largely concerned with training for "immediate personal effectiveness."¹¹ The second sophistic rhetorician exaggerated style and ignored content, fostering the decline in viable rhetoric.¹² Early Christians denied the legitimacy of non-Christian learning, especially rhetoric. However, Origen, St. Augustine, and others taught that

rhetoric was needed to give persuasive expression to scriptural exposition.¹³

Although Origen rejected the rhetoric of the second sophistic dominant during his life-time, he held and practiced principles consonant with the best traditions of rhetoric. He adapted rhetoric as an art to make Christian teaching persuasive; it was to be grounded in sound knowledge and ethical purpose; and its subject matter was Christian truth and compatible thought from non-Christian sources. Although Origen did not explicitly handle the five arts of rhetoric--invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery, he did deal with them in an implicit fashion. The first canon, invention, was concerned with discovery and grasp of truth inherent in Scripture; the speaker was to adapt to the needs of his audience. The allegorical system of analysis was the method for investigating Bible passages as to their literal, moral, and spiritual meanings.¹⁴ In addition to Scripture, the speaker was to select compatible arguments from all spheres of learning.¹⁵

The remaining four canons were also treated appropriately by Origen. Perhaps Origen's most important contribution to Christian rhetoric was in the area of

arrangement.. He was the first to make sermons true discourses; Origen explained and applied definite texts instead of making unconnected, running comments.¹⁶ The three parts of his allegorical system became the most popular organizational pattern for sermons during the middle ages.¹⁷ Origen considered style as a matter of adopting a form and mode of discourse to the needs of an audience. He held that a good style must be clear, appropriate, and forceful. He recommended that a style should be used which would make the message wholesome to the greatest number of individuals. Origen's concept of delivery was unstated; most likely such silence was a reaction to the excesses of the second sophistic. His student, Gregory, described Origen's delivery as graceful, persuasive, and constrained.¹⁸ It is likely that the vigor and content of Origen's words were matched with appropriate but dynamic vocal and bodily expression. Origen urged the speaker to prepare thoroughly that he might be ready to give the sermon "strength and fitness."¹⁹ Otherwise, he did not specifically discuss memory.

The Alexandrian held that the art of rhetoric was to be grounded in truth, ethically responsible, and appropriately adjusted to the needs of society. The ideal speaker

would be the embodiment of his good message. Audience analysis enabled the speaker to realize ways to identify with his listener; thus, he could select arguments, language, and delivery suitable to this end. Guided by Jesus Christ's identification with man, Origen found that the communicator speaks best when he wears the dress and uses a style that "does not by its strangeness close men's ears."²⁰ The preacher was to encourage his audience to self-control, sound conduct, and the pursuit of salvation. Unethical goals made the preacher a pirate who sought the ship-wreck of his listeners and his own personal gain.²¹

When Origen's views are compared and contrasted with ancient rhetoricians, it becomes obvious that his rhetoric is to be ranked with the best traditions of rhetorical thought. With Plato, he demanded that the art embrace truth; with the classical rhetoricians and Augustine, he sought to equip truth with persuasiveness; with the Stoic, he urged that truth was most persuasive in clear exposition." He rejected the rhetoric of the second sophistic because it disregarded truth.

Like Plato and Aristotle, Origen handled the canons only by implication. Contrary to the classical rhetoricians who sought likely conjecture about useful things, Origen

sought ideal truth. Dialectic furnished the method for truth's search in Plato's and the Stoic's system; the allegorical system furnished Origen with a method of the investigation of truth in the Scriptures. Earlier church fathers agreed with Origen that truth was to be discovered in Scripture, but they rejected his and St. Augustine's usage of complementary non-Christian thought. Along with systematizing the allegorical method of analysis, Origen's ideas of sermon arrangement differs sharply from that of the early church fathers. He outlined the allegorical pattern of investigation as an orderly way of arranging one's preaching: the pattern became the standard arrangement for the sermon throughout the middle ages. Origen's concept of style was similar to the ideas of Plato and Aristotle, but differed from that of the sophists. Style was a way of giving clarity, popularity, and force to truth. Appropriate style raised the eyes of the listener from the mere letter, which kills, to see the spirit of the words in their essential, universal, and timeless communication of truth. Delivery occupied little space in Origen's rhetorical system, as was the case in Plato, Aristotle, and St. Augustine. Origen openly scorned the "resonant and melodious" speeches of the second sophistic, because their

intent was merely to charm the audience.²² Origen would probably have endorsed Cicero's definition that delivery was "the control of voice and body in a manner suitable to the dignity of the subject matter and style."²³ St. Augustine, likewise, expressed the concept of propriety, when he taught that the gravity of the occasion determined whether the preacher spoke in a subdued, moderate, or grand manner.²⁴ The popularity of both Origen and St. Augustine suggests that these men delivered their messages with a vigor commensurate to their subject matter. As to the concept of memory, Origen shared the views of those who insisted upon the speaker's thorough grasp of his materials.²⁵

Origen's view that the art of rhetoric was obliged to convey the truth for the welfare of those who heard the gospel, is in philosophical harmony with Plato's conviction that rhetoric was to speak the truth for the healing of the ills of the body politic. Origen's view of the art certainly was not in conflict with the classical goal of "energizing knowledge and humanizing truth,"²⁶ but his view was a sharp contrast to that of the sophists who neglected truth and the welfare of their listeners in order to make personal gain.

In essence, Origen helped to "Christianize" rhetoric by adapting its concepts to give effectiveness to Christian teaching; or, perhaps it should be said that Origen contributed significantly to "rhetorizing" the Christian message, many of his ideas being derived from non-Christian sources. The allegorical method was one such idea; he used it as the means by which the preacher would discover, organize, and express his message. Many of his ideas may be found in the materials of later Christian leaders, principally among them is St. Augustine who has been given credit for "renewing" rhetoric. This study points to the fact that Origen's rhetorical thought may be a basis for the acceptance of St. Augustine's rhetorical concepts, if not an overlooked and underrated contribution in its own right. It is interesting to note that Origen was considered a heretic in his later life, while Augustine was named a saint.

Conclusions

The value of this study to contemporary rhetorical thought may be seen in several key areas. The study opens new knowledge regarding the third century after Christ. Historical studies to date have identified two prominent

attitudes regarding rhetoric in the first three centuries A.D.: the second sophistic outside the church, and the isolationism within the church. The sophists had lost their right to persuade men in vital issues in the court and legislative assembly; decisions were made fiat. With the loss of vital issues and the right to make decisions, teachers of rhetoric turned their attention to pomp and ceremony. Historians agree that all rhetoric had taken "on a new form It lost touch with real life."

Inside the church, rhetoric and all non-Christian learning were largely rejected as "lying prophecies."²⁷

This study brings to light another spokesman, Origen (185-254 A.D.), who stands as an important influence in the history of rhetorical theory. His influence began early in the third century and counteracted two deadening influences. First, he was a corrective to the evils of the second sophistic. Second, the Alexandrian recalled a church, which had become isolationary, to recognize all learning as a gift of God.²⁸ The best of the pagan's thought was to be dedicated to the service of God. He was especially equipped to render service to rhetorical thought, for he held views consistent with the finest traditions; and this was 150 years before St. Augustine "started

rhetoric anew."²⁹

Origen made several distinct contributions to rhetoric by means of his allegorical system, of which he is considered "the father" in the church.³⁰ The first contribution was related to the concept of invention. Origen's Christian commitment had led him to accept Scripture as the perfect word of God. But how was he to resolve conflicts of the Old and New Testaments, of sound philosophy and Scripture, and of texts that were absurd when interpreted in the strict literal sense? Origen devised the allegorical method of analysis, and systematized it especially for the church. The scheme provided three levels by which to examine Scripture: literal, moral, and spiritual. Unlike the orthodox typological system of Biblical interpretation, the allegorical system related literal (historical) meanings to "truths of a different level, extra-historical and often extraneous to the Bible;" typology compared two meanings "on the same level of being."³¹

Origen's system encouraged the speaker to examine the text critically, but the speaker was to consider higher meanings, also. The Garden of Eden, Noah's Ark, bloody altars, and forbidden holy rooms suggested need for still other meanings. Contemporary churchmen too often

too often complain of Origen's excesses in interpretation but fail to note that Origen lifted preaching materials from the dead letter to seek meaning that would be understood by all cultures and ages. His method relieved tensions between "philosophy and religion,"³² between the Old and New Testaments, and between literal and symbolic meaning; he sought universal, timeless, and spiritual meanings which make ancient words as significant today as them.

Origen's second important contribution was the application of the allegorical system of analysis to the concept of arrangement. His three-part interpretive system began a new pattern for organizing the divisions of the sermon.³³ As already indicated, the first division was organized around the literal meaning; successive divisions were developments of the moral and spiritual meanings.³⁴ Among those church leaders who adopted the allegorical system were: St. Augustine,³⁵ Ambrose,³⁶ Jerome,³⁷ Eusebius,³⁸ Firmilian,³⁹ Victorinus of Pettau,⁴⁰ Gregory of Nyssa,⁴¹ Cassian,⁴² Rhabanus Maurus,⁴³ the Venerable Bede,⁴⁴ Roger Bacon,⁴⁵ and others.⁴⁶

Typical of the accolades given to Origen by serious scholars in various fields, Laistner wrote:

Among the Greek Fathers who turned their attention to exegesis, Origen towers head and shoulders over all the others. It is no exaggeration to say that his influence was universal, since even those who opposed his methods or rejected his conclusions were compelled in the process to deepen their own researches and to seek a solution for problems which, but for him, they might never have envisaged.⁴⁷

Suggested Additional Research

This study recommends three possible areas for additional research:

- (1) The investigation of the rhetorical theory, pedagogy, and/or practice of other early church leaders, such as: Cyprian, Hippolytus of Rome, and Gregory of Nyssa.
- (2) The analysis of the concept and practice of delivery in the transitional period when preaching moved from the homily to the sermon.
- (3) A close scrutiny of the causes for the rejection of non-Christian learning, especially rhetoric.

This study also recommends theological, homiletical, and hermeneutical re-examination of Origen's views, especially on the allegorical system. Survey of the literature of these fields suggested that hearsay and bias have hampered unprejudiced investigation of the Alexand-

rian's viewpoint. New inquiry might well stimulate fresh vitality in their disciplines; some old prejudices might be confirmed; and some would certainly be discarded.

U

¹Charles S. Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (Gloucester, Mass., 1959), p. 51. cf. Donald L. Clark, Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education (Morningside Heights, N.Y., 1959), p. 40.

²Representative of these historical studies were: James J. Murphy, "Saint Augustine and Rabanus Maurus, The Genesis of Medieval Rhetoric," Western Speech XXXI (Spring, 1967), p. 88; Harry Caplan, "Classical Rhetoric and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching," Historical Studies of Rhetoric and Rhetoricians, ed. Raymond Howes (Ithaca, N.Y., 1961), p. 82; Richard McKeon, "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," Speculum XVII (January, 1942), p. 1; Baldwin, pp. 239, 240.

³Origen, "Works of Origen," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, trans. Frederick Crombie, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Grand Rapids, 1956), IV, 224.

⁴M.L.W. Laistner, Christianity and Pagan Culture (Ithaca, N.Y., 1951), p. 50.

⁵Father Benignus Cloonan, "The Effect of Classical Rhetoric Upon Christian Preaching During the First Five Centuries A.D." (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State, 1959), pp. 174-175.

⁶Cicero, De Inventione, trans. H.M. Hubbell in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), pp. 19, 21.

⁷Aristotle, Rhetoric, trans. W. Rhys Roberts (New York, 1954), p. 18.

⁸Aristotle, pp. 19-30; Isocrates, Antidosis, trans. George Norlin in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), II, 329; Cicero, De Oratore, trans. E.W. Sutton in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), I, 23.

⁹Plato, Phaedrus, trans. H.N. Fowler in Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass., 1960), p. 571.

¹⁰George Kennedy, The Art of Persuasion in Greece (Princeton, N.J., 1963), p. 294.

¹¹ Charles S. Baldwin, Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic (Gloucester, Mass., 1959), p. 247.

¹² Donald L. Clark, Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance (New York, 1963), p. 39.

¹³ St. Augustine, On Christian Doctrine, trans. D.W. Robertson, Jr. (Indianapolis, 1958), p. 117; Origen, Selections from the Commentaries and Homilies of Origen, trans. R.B. Tollinton (New York, 1929), p. 175.

¹⁴ Origen, The Philocalia of Origen, trans. George Lewis (Edinburgh, 1911), p. 1.

¹⁵ Gregory Thaumaturgus, "Oration and Panegyric Addressed to Origen," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, trans. S.D.F. Salmond, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donalson (New York, 1926), VI, 32.

¹⁶ John A. Broadus, Lectures on the History of Preaching (New York, 1896), p. 56.

¹⁷ Harry Caplan, "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching," Speculum IV (July, 1929), pp. 282-290.

¹⁸ Gregory, VI, 27, 28.

¹⁹ Origen, Selections from the Commentaries and Homilies of Origen, trans. R.B. Tollinton (New York, 1929), pp. 107, 91.

²⁰ Origen, The Philocalia . . ., p. 70.

²¹ Origen, Selections . . ., pp. 154-155.

²² Origen, Selections . . ., p. 177.

²³ Cicero, De Inventione, p. 19.

²⁴ St. Augustine, p. 145.

²⁵ Cicero, De Inventione, pp. 19, 21; Origen, Selections . . ., pp. 107, 91.

- ²⁶Baldwin, Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic, p. 247.
- ²⁷"Didascalia Apostolorum," trans. in M.L.W. Laistner, Christianity and Pagan Culture, p. 50.
- ²⁸Origen, "Letter from Origen to Gregory," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, trans. Allan Menzies (Grand Rapids, 1965), X, 295.
- ²⁹Baldwin, Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic, p. 51.
- ³⁰M.L.W. Laistner, Thoughts and Letters in Western Europe (Ithaca, N.Y., 1957), pp. 64, 65; Frederick W. Farrar, Lives of the Fathers (Edinburgh, 1889), I, 426; H. Flanders-Dunbar, Symbolism in Medieval Thought (New York, 1961), p. 263; Caplan, "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching," Speculum IV (July, 1929), p. 285; J.D. Wilkinson, "A Defense of Origenistic Allegory," Studia Patristica, ed. F.L. Cross (Berlin, 1962), VI, 264-268.
- ³¹Wilkinson, VI, 264.
- ³²Bernard Ramm, Protestant Biblical Interpretation (Boston, 1950), p. 21.
- ³³Caplan, "The Four Senses . . . , pp. 282-290.
- ³⁴Origen, "Song of Songs," Ancient Christian Writers, trans. R.P. Lawson, ed. Johannes Quasten and Joseph C. Plumpe (Westminster, Maryland, 1957), XXVI, 59.
- ³⁵Robert E. McNally, The Bible in the Early Middle Ages (Westminster, Maryland, 1959), p. 3.
- ³⁶F. Homes Dudden, St. Ambrose (Oxford, 1935), II, 557, 660, 689, 692.
- ³⁷St. Jerome, "Principle Works," Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, trans. W.H. Fremantle, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Grand Rapids, 1892), VI, 46, 179, 498, 501; H.A. Wolfson, The Philosophy of the Church Fathers (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), I, 65.

³⁸Johannes Quasten, Patrology (Westminster, Maryland, 1960), III, 309.

³⁹Johannes Quasten, Patrology (Westminster, Maryland, 1953), II, 128.

⁴⁰Quasten, II, 413.

⁴¹Quasten, III, 284.

⁴²H.A. Wolfson, The Philosophy of the Church Fathers (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), p. 70; H. Flanders Dunbar, Symbolism in Medieval Thought (New York, 1961), p. 270.

⁴³Hrabanus/sic/ Maurus, The Patrologiae Latinae CXII Hrabanus Maurus, VI, p. 849.

⁴⁴Venerabilis Bedae, Opera Pars III, Opera Exegetica I, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina CXVIII A. p. 110.

⁴⁵Beryl Smalley, The Bible in the Middle Ages (New York, 1952), pp. 330, 331.

⁴⁶Harry E. Fosdick, The Modern Use of the Bible (New York, 1924), pp. 82,85,87.

⁴⁷Laistner, Thoughts and Letters in Western Europe, p. 64.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

St. Ambrose. "The Mysteries," Theological and Dogmatic Works. trans. Roy J. Deferrari. Vol. XLIV. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1963.

_____. On the Sacraments. trans. T. Thompson. ed. J.H. Srawley. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1950.

Aristotle. Rhetoric. trans. W. Rhys Roberts. New York: Random House, 1954.

Arnobius. "Against the Heathen," The Ante-Nicene Fathers. trans. Hamilton Bryce. Vol. VI New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926.

St. Augustin/sic/. "City of God," The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. trans. Marcus Dods. ed. Philip Schaff. Vol. II. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956

_____. "On Christian Doctrine," The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. trans. J.F. Shaw. ed. Philip Schaff. Vol II. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.

_____. "Sermons on Selected Lessons of the New Testament," The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. trans. R.G. MacMullen. ed. Philip Schaff. Vol. VI. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.

_____. "St. John," The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. trans. John Gibb. ed. Philip Schaff. Vol. VII. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.

St. Augustine. Confessions. trans. Edward B. Pusey. New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1957.

_____. "The Confessions," The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. trans. J.G. Pilkington. ed. Philip Schaff. Vol. I. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.

_____. "Contra Julianum Pelongianum," Early Latin Theology. Library of Christian Classics. Vol. V. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956.

_____. On Christian Doctrine. trans. D. W. Robertson, Jr. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1958.

_____. Themes from Augustine. trans. Dom Mark Pontifex, Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1965.

_____. The Works of Augustine. ed. Marcus Dods. Vol. I. Edinburgh: 1884.

Beda, Venerabilis. "In Genesim," Opera Pars II. Opera Exegitica I. In Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina CXVIII. Turnholti, Belgium: Typographi Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1967.

Chrysostom, St. John. "Baptismal Instruction," Ancient Christian Writers. trans. Paul W. Harkins. ed. Johannes Quasten and Joseph C. Plumpe. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1963.

Cicero. Brutus. trans. G.L. Hendrickson in Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1952.

_____. De Inventione. trans. H.M. Hubbell in Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1949.

_____. De Optimo Genere Oratorum. trans. H.M. Hubbell in Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1960.

Cicero. De Oratore. trans. E.W. Sutton in Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Vol. I. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1958.

_____. De Oratore. trans. H. Rackham in Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Vol. II. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1958.

_____. "On the Character of the Orator," The Basic Works of Cicero. trans. E.N.P. Moor. New York: Random House, 1951.

Clement. "Clement," The Apostolic Fathers. trans. Kirsopp Lake. Vol. I. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1959.

_____. Christ the Educator. trans. Simon P. Wood. New York: The Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1954.

_____. "Works of Clement," Alexandrian Christianity. trans. J.E.L. Oulton and Henry Chadwick. Vol. II. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954.

Cyprian. Treatises. trans. Roy J. Deferrari. New York: The Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1958.

Epictetus. "The Discourses of Epictetus," The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers. trans. P.E. Matheson. ed. W.J. Oates. New York: Random House, 1940.

Erasmus. The Epistles of Erasmus. trans. Frances Morgan Nichols. New York: Russell and Russell, 1962.

Eusebius Pamphili. Ecclesiastical History. trans. Roy J. Deferrari. Vol. II. New York: The Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1955.

Gregory Thaumaturgus. "Oration and Panegyric Addressed to Origen," The Ante-Nicene Fathers. trans. S.D.F. Salmond. ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Vol. VI. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926.

Gregory Thaumaturgus. "Oration and Panegyric Addressed to Origen," VI. Patrologiae Graecae X 1072. ed. J.P. Migne. Turnholti, Belgium: Typographic Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1857.

Homer. The Iliad. trans. Andrew Lang, Walter Leaf, Ernest Myers. London: Macmillan Co., 1907.

Ignatius, and others. The Apostolic Fathers. trans. Kirsopp Lake. Vol. I. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Isocrates. Against the Sophists. trans. George Norlin in the Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Vol. II. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1956.

_____. Antidosis. trans. George Norlin in the Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Vol. II. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1956.

_____. Helen. trans. La Rue Van Hook in the Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Vol. III. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1954.

St. Jerome. Select Letters. trans. F.A. Wright in Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1954.

_____. "Principle Works of St. Jerome," The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers. trans. W.H. Fremantle. ed. Schaff and Wace. Vol. VI. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.

St. Justin Martyr. Dialogue with Trypho. trans. Thomas B. Falls. New York: Christian Heritage, Inc., 1948.

_____. The Second Apology. trans. Thomas B. Falls. New York: Christian Heritage, Inc., 1948.

Lactantius. The Divine Institutes. trans. Mary Francis McDonald. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1964.

- Longinus. On Great Writing (On the Sublime). trans. G.M.A. Grube. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1957.
- Marcus Aurelius. "Meditations," The Stoic and Epicurean Philosophers. trans. G. Long. ed. W.J. Oates. New York: Random House, 1940.
- Maurus, Hrabanus. "Allegoriae in Sacram Scripturatum," Patrologiae Latinae. Vol. CXII. ed. J.P. Migne. Turnholt, Belgium: Typographic Brepols Editores Pontificii, /n.d./
- Origen. "Origen to Africanus," The Ante-Nicene Fathers. trans. Frederick Crombie. Vol. IV. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.
- Origen. "Africanus to Origen," The Ante-Nicene Fathers. trans. Frederick Crombie. Vol. IV. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.
- Origen. Contra Celsum. trans. Henry Chadwick. Cambridge, Eng: University Press, 1953.
- Origen. "Origen Against Celsus," The Ante-Nicene Fathers. trans. Frederick Crombie. Vol. IV. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.
- Origen. "On Dialogue with Heraclides," Alexandrian Christianity. trans. and ed. J.E.L. Oulton and Henry Chadwick. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1944
- Origen. "Origen De Principiis," The Ante-Nicene Fathers. trans. Frederick Crombie. Vol. IV. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.
- Origen. On First Principles. trans. and ed. G.W. Butterworth. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966.
- Origen. "Genesim Homilia," II. Patrologiae Graecae. XII. ed. J.P. Migne. Turnholt, Belgium: Typographic Brepols Editores Pontificii, /n.d./.

- Origen. "Letter of Origen to Gregory," The Ante-Nicene Fathers. trans. Frederick Crombie. Vol. IV. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.
- Origen. "Letter of Origen to Gregory," The Ante-Nicene Fathers. trans. Allan Menzies. Vol. X. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965.
- Origen. "Joannis," II. Patrologiae Graecae XIV. ed. J.P. Migne. Turnholti, Belgium: Typographic Brepols Editores Pontificii, /n.d./.
- Origen. "Joannis," IV. Patrologiae Graecae XIV. ed. J.P. Migne. Turnholti, Belgium: Typographic Brepols Editores Pontificii, /n.d./.
- Origen. "Commentary on the Gospel of John," The Ante-Nicene Fathers. trans. Allan Menzies. Vol. X. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965.
- Origen. "Commentary on the Gospel of Matthew," The Ante-Nicene Fathers. trans. John Patrick. Vol. X. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965.
- Origen. Vol. III. Patrologiae Graecae. XIII. ed. J.P. Migne. Turnholti, Belgium: Typographic Brepols Editores Pontificii, /n.d./.
- Origen. "On Prayer and Exhortation to Martyrdom," Alexandrian Christianity. trans. and ed. J.E.L. Oulton and Henry Chadwick. Vol. II. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1954.
- Origen. "On Prayer and Exhortation to Martyrdom," Ancient Christian Writers. trans. John J. O'Meara. ed. Johannes Quasten and Joseph C. Plumpe. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1954.
- Origen. The Philocalia of Origen. trans. George Lewis. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1911.

- Origen. "Prologue of Rufinus," The Ante-Nicene Fathers. trans. Frederick Crombie. Vol. IV. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.
- Origen. Selections from the Commentaries and Homilies of Origen. trans. R.B. Tollinton. New York: Macmillan Co., 1929.
- Origen. "Song of Songs," Ancient Christian Writers. trans. R.P. Lawson. ed. Johannes Quasten and Joseph C. Plumpe. Vol. XXVI. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1957.
- Origen. "Stromate," VI. Patrologiae Graecae XI. ed. J.P. Migne. Turnholti, Belgium: Typographic Brepols Editores Pontificii, 1857.
- Origen. "Works of Origen," The Ante-Nicene Fathers. trans. Frederick Crombie. Vol. IV. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956.
- Plato. Gorgias. trans. W.C. Helmbold. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1951.
- Plato. Gorgias. trans. W.R.M. Lamb in the Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1953.
- Plato. Phaedrus. trans. H.N. Fowler in the Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Plato. Phaedrus. Plato's Phaedrus. trans. R. Hackforth. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1952.
- Plato. Laws. trans. R.G. Bury in the Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1961.
- Plato. Republic. trans. Paul Shorey in the Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1963.

Quintilian. On The Early Education of the Citizen-Orator.
trans. J.S. Watson. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-
Merrill Co., Inc., 1965.

_____. The Institutio Oratoria. trans. H.E. Butler
in Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Vol. I.
Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1953.

_____. The Institutio Oratoria. trans. H.E. Butler in
Loeb Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Vol. IV.
Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1953.

Rhetorica ad Herennium. trans. Harry Caplan. Cambridge,
Mass: Harvard University Press, 1954.

Suetonius. On Grammarians. trans. J.C. Rolfe in Loeb
Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Vol. II.
Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1950.

Tertullian, "The Prescription Against Heretics," The
Ante-Nicene Fathers. trans. Peter Holmes. Vol.
III. New York: 1899.

_____. Apologeticus. trans. T.R. Glover in Loeb
Classical Library. ed. James Loeb. Cambridge,
Mass: Harvard University Press, 1953.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Books

Allen, A.V.G. The Continuity of Christian Thought: A
Study of Modern Theology in the Light of Its
History. Boston: 1884.

Altaner, Berthold. Patrology. trans. Hilda C. Graef.
New York: Herder and Herder, 1961.

Artz, Frederick B. The Mind of the Middle Ages. New
York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1958.

- Atkins, J.W.H. Literary Criticism in Antiquity. Vol. I. Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1961.
- Attwater, D. The Christian Churches of the East. Vol. I. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1948.
- Baldwin, Charles S. Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic. Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1959.
- _____. Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic. Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1959.
- _____. "St. Augustine on Preaching", The Province of Rhetoric. ed. Joseph Schwartz and John A. Rycenga. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1965.
- Bardy, Gustave. Greek Literature of the Early Christian Church. trans. Mary Reaginald. London: Sands and Co., 1929.
- Battenhouse, R.W., et al. A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1955.
- Bigg, Charles. The Christian Platonists of Alexandria. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1913.
- _____. The Origins of Christianity. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1909.
- Blench, J.W. Preaching in England in the Late Fifteenth Century. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1964.
- Bowra, C.M. Ancient Greek Literature. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Brilioth, Yngve. A Brief History of Preaching. trans. Karl E. Mattson. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965.
- _____. Landmarks in the History of Preaching. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1950.
- Broadus, John A. History of Preaching. New York: 1876.

- _____. Lectures on the History of Preaching.
New York: 1896.
- _____. On the Preparation and Delivery of Sermons.
New York: A.C. Armstrong and Sons, 1944.
- Brown, Peter. Augustine of Hippo. Los Angeles:
University of California Press, 1967.
- Burke, Kenneth, "Rhetoric--Old and New," The Art of Rhetoric. ed. Francis Connolly and Gerald Levin.
New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1968.
- Cadiou, René. La Jeunesse d'Origene, Histoire de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie au Debut du IIIe Siecle. Paris:
Gabriel Beauchesne et Ses Fils, 1935.
- _____. Origen: His Life at Alexandria. trans. by
John A. Southwell (pseud.). St. Louis: B. Herder
Book Co., 1944.
- Cadoux, Cecil John. The Early Church and the World.
Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1925.
- Campanhausen, Hans von. The Fathers of the Greek Church.
trans. Stanley Godman. New York: Pantheon Books
Inc., 1959.
- Caplan, Harry. "Classical Rhetoric and the Mediaeval
Theory of Preaching," Historical Studies of
Rhetoric and Rhetoricians. ed. Raymond Howes.
Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1961.
- _____. "A Late Mediaeval Tractate on Preaching,"
Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor
of James Albert Winans. ed. A.M. Drummond.
New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1962.
- Case, S.J. The Evolution of Early Christianity. Chicago:
University of Chicago Press, 1914.
- Cayre, F. Manual of Patrology. trans. by H. Howitt.
Paris: Society of St. John the Evangelist, Desclee
and Co., 1935.

- Chadwick, Henry. Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition. New York: University Press, 1966.
- Clark, Donald L. Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance. New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1963.
- _____. Rhetoric in Greco-Roman Education. Morningside Heights, New York: Columbia University Press, 1959.
- Clarke, M. L. Rhetoric at Home. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1963.
- Cochrane, Charles N. Christianity and Classical Culture. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957.
- Cole, Percival R. Later Roman Education in Ausonius, Capella and the Theodosian Code. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1909.
- Copleston, Frederick. The History of Philosophy. Vol. II. Part I. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1962.
- Corbett, Edward P.J. A Survey of Classical Rhetoric. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.
- Cornford, Francis M. Plato's Theory of Knowledge. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1957.
- Coxe, A. Cleveland. Fathers of the Third Century. New York: 1890.
- Cross, F.L. The Early Christian Fathers. London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., Ltd., 1960.
- Daniélou, Jean. A History of Early Christian Doctrine. Vol. I, trans. John A. Baker. London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, Ltd., 1964.
- _____. Origen. trans. Walter Mitchell. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955.
- Dargan, Edwin Charles. A History of Preaching. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1954.

- _____. The Art of Preaching in the Light of its History. New York: George H. Doran Publishing Co., 1922.
- De Faye, Eugene. Origen and His Work. trans. Fred Rothwell. New York: Columbia University Press, 1929.
- De Labriolle, Pierre. History and Literature of Christianity. trans. Herbert Wilson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1925.
- Denis, J. De la Philosophie d'Origene. Paris: 1884.
- Donne, John. Sermons ed. George R. Potter and Evelyn M. Simpson. Vols. I-X. Berkeley, Calif: University of California Press, 1962
- Drewery, Benjamin. Origen and the Doctrine of Grace. London: Epworth Press, 1960.
- Dudden, F. Homes. Saint Ambrose. Vol. I, II. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1935.
- Dunbar, H. Flanders. Symbolism in Medieval Thought. New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1961.
- Elliott-Binns, L.E. The Beginnings of Western Christendom. London: Lutterworth Press, 1948.
- Else, C. Neo-Platonism in Relation to Christianity. Cambridge: University Press, 1908.
- Fairbairn, Patrick. The Typology of Scripture. Philadelphia: 1865.
- Fairweather, William. Jesus and the Greeks. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1924.
- _____. Origen. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1901.
- _____. Origen and Greek Patristic Theology. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901.

- Farnham, Willard. A Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1956.
- Farrar, Frederick W. History of Interpretation. London: 1886.
- _____. Lives of the Fathers. Vol. I. Edinburgh: 1889.
- Fénelon, François. Dialogues on Eloquence. trans. Wilbur Samuel Howell. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1951.
- Fisher, G.P. History of the Christian Church. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946.
- Fosdick, Harry E. Modern Use of the Bible. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924.
- Garvie, Alfred E. The Christian Preacher. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921.
- Goodspeed, Edgar J. and Robert M. Grant. A History of Early Christian Literature. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- Gwynn, Aubrey. Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian. New York: Teachers College Press, 1966.
- Hamilton, Edith. The Greek Way. New York: New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1956.
- Hamilton, J.G. The Two Harmonies: Poetry and Prose in the Seventeenth Century. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963.
- Hanson, Richard P.C. Origen's Doctrine of Tradition. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1954.
- _____. Allegory and Event. Richmond, Va: John Knox Press, 1959.

Harnack, Adolph. History of Dogma. trans. Emil Buchanan, et. al. Vols. I-VII. London: Williams and Norgate, 1912.

-. Outlines of the History of Dogma. trans. Edwin K. Mitchell. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1918.

Hight, Gilbert. The Classical Tradition. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1957.

Hitchcock, F.R.M. Irenaeus of Lugdunum. Cambridge: University Press, 1914.

Hort, Fenton J.A. The Ante-Nicene Fathers. New York: 1895.

Hunt, Everett L. "Plato and Aristotle on Rhetoric and Rhetoricians," Historical Studies of Rhetoric and Rhetoricians. ed. Raymond F. Howes. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1961.

Jaeger, Werner. Early Christianity and Greek Paideia. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961.

Jewell, John. "An Apologie of the Church of England," English Reformers. ed. T.H.L. Parker. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1966.

Kennedy, George. The Art of Persuasion in Greece. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963.

Kerr, H.T. Preaching in the Early Church. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1942.

Kettler, Franz H. Der Ursprungliche Sinn der Dogmatrik des Origenes. Berlin: A. Topelmann, 1966.

Kevane, Eugene. Augustine, the Educator. Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1964.

Kirk, Kenneth E. The Vision of God: The Christian Doctrine of the Summum Bonum. London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1937.

- Kitto, H.D.F. The Greeks. Baltimore, Md: Penguin Books, Inc., 1964.
- Koch, Hal. Pronoia und Paideusis. Berlin: W. de Gruyter and Co., 1932.
- Kraft, Heinrich. Early Christian Thinkers. New York: Association Press, 1964.
- Kramer, Paul S. The Sources of Primitive Gnosticism and its Place in the History of Christian Thought. Chicago: University of Chicago Libraries, 1936.
- Krüger, G. History of Early Christian Literature. trans. C.R. Gillett. New York: 1897.
- Laistner, M.L.W. Christianity and Pagan Culture. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1951.
- _____. Thoughts and Letters in Western Europe. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1957.
- Lake, Kirsopp. The Stewardship of Faith: Our Heritage from Early Christianity. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1915.
- Lewalski, Barbara K. Milton's Brief Epic. Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 1966.
- Lietzmann, Hans. A History of the Early Church. trans. Bertram L. Woolf. New York: The World Publishing Co., 1961.
- Lovejoy, Arthur O. The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.
- Lubac, Henri de. Exégèse Médiévale. [n.c.], France: Aubier, 1959.
- Macdonald, Allan J. Authority and Reason in the Early Middle Ages. London: Oxford University Press, 1933.

- McGiffert, Arthur C. A History of Christian Thought.
Vol. I. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932.
- McNally, Robert E. The Bible in the Middle Ages.
Westminster, Md: The Newman Press, 1959.
- Marrou, H.I. Saint Augustine. New York: Harper
Torchbooks, 1957.
- _____. A History of Education in Antiquity. trans.
George Lamb. New York: New American Library of
World Literature, Inc., 1964.
- Milton, John. Milton's Works. ed. Frank A. Patterson.
Vol. III. New York: Columbia University Press,
1931.
- Neander, Augustus. A General History of the Christian
Church. Vol. I. Boston: 1870.
- O'Meara, John J. The Young Augustine. London: Longmans,
Green and Co., Ltd., 1954.
- Neve, J.L. A History of Christian Thought. Vol. I.
Philadelphia: United Lutheran Publication House,
1943.
- Niebuhr, H. Richard and Williams, Daniel D. The Ministry
in Historical Perspectives. New York: Harper and
Brothers, 1956.
- Otto, Rudolph. The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry Into
the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine
and its Relation to the Rational. trans. John W.
Harvey. London: Oxford University Press, 1923.
- Pattison, T. Harwood. The History of Christian Preaching.
Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society,
1912.
- Petry, R.C. No Uncertain Sound: Sermons That Shaped the
Pulpit Tradition. Philadelphia: The Westminster
Press, 1948.

- _____. Preaching in the Great Tradition. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1950.
- Pfleiderer, Otto. Primitive Christianity. trans. W. Montgomery. Vols. I-IV. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1906-1911.
- Prestige, G.L. Fathers and Heretics. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1940.
- Przywara, Erich. An Augustinian Synthesis. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958.
- Quasten, J. Patrology. Vols. I-III. Westminster, Md: Newman Press, 1950-1960.
- Ramm, Bernard. Protestant Biblical Interpretation. Boston: W.A. Wilde Co., 1950.
- Redepenning, Ernst R. Origenes, Eine Darstellung Seines Lebens und Seiner Lehre. Vols. I-II. Bonn: 1841-1846.
- Reu, M. Homiletics. trans. Albert Steinhauser. Chicago: Wartburg Publishing House, 1922.
- Rist, John M. Eros and Psyche: Studies in Plato, Plotinus, and Origen. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964.
- Robin, Leon. Greek Thought and the Origins of the Scientific Spirit. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1928.
- Robins, Harry F. If This Be Heresy: A Study of Milton and Origen. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963.
- Routley, E. The Wisdom of the Fathers. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957.
- Rust, George. A Letter of Resolution Concerning Origen and the Chief of His Opinions. New York: Facsimile Text Society, Columbia University Press, 1933.

- Sanday, W. and Williams, N.P. Form and Content in the Christian Tradition. London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1916.
- Shedd, William G.T. A History of Christian Doctrine. Vol. I. New York: Charles Scribner's and Son, 1902.
- Sihler, Ernest G. From Augustus to Augustine: Essays and Studies Dealing with the Contact and Conflict of Classic Paganism and Christianity. London: Cambridge University Press, 1923.
- Smalley, Beryl. The Bible in the Middle Ages. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1952.
- _____. Trends in Medieval Political Thought. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965.
- Smith, David. The Art of Preaching. New York: George H. Doran Co., / n.d./.
- Souter, Alexander. The Earliest Latin Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1927.
- Streeter, B.H. The Primitive Church. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929.
- Swete, H.B. Essays on the Early History of the Church and the Ministry. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1921.
- _____. Patristic Study. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1902.
- Taylor, A. E. Plato: The Man and His Work. New York: The World Publishing Co., 1963.
- Thonssen, Lester and Baird, A. Craig. Speech Criticism. New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1948.

- Thornton, R. "St. Ambrose," The Fathers for English Readers. London: S.P.C.K., 1879.
- Tollinton, Richard B. Clement of Alexandria: A Study in Christian Liberalism. 2 vols. London: Williams and Norgate, 1914.
- Toynbee, Arnold J. A Study of History. Vol. V. London: Oxford University Press, 1946.
- Untersteiner, Mario. The Sophists. trans. Kathleen Freeman. New York: Philosophical Library Inc., 1954.
- Van Der Meer, F. Augustine the Bishop. trans Brian Battershaw and G.R. Lamb. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1961.
- Volker, Walter. Das Vollkommenheitsideal des Origenes. Tubingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1931.
- Wallace, D.S. and Hadrill, D.D. Eusebius of Caesaria. London: A.R. Mowbray and Co., Ltd., 1960.
- Wallerstein, Ruth. Studies of Seventeenth Century Poetics. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1950.
- Warfield, Benjamin B. Studies in Tertullian and Augustine. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1930.
- Westcott, B.F. Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West. London: 1891.
- Wilder, Amos N. The Language of the Gospel. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1964.
- Wolfson, H.A. The Philosophy of the Church Fathers. Vol. I. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1956.
- Wood, A. Skevington. The Principles of Biblical Interpretation. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1967.

Articles

- Banks, J.S. "The Philocalia of Origen," The Expository Times, XXIII (1912), 513-514.
- Barnes, W. Emery. "The Third Century and Its Greatest Christian: Origen," The Expository Times, XLIV (1932-1933), 295-300.
- Black, Edwin. "Plato's View of Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLIV (December, 1958), 361-374.
- Bratton, F.G. "Origen, the First Christian Liberal," The Journal of Bible and Religion, VIII (August, 1940), 137-141.
- Bryant, Donald C. "Rhetoric: Its Function and Its Scope," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXXIX (December, 1953), 401-424.
- Caplan, Harry. "The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Medieval Theory of Preaching," Speculum, IV (July, 1929), 282-290.
- _____. "Rhetorical Invention in Some Medieval Tractates in Preaching," Speculum, II (July, 1927), 284-295.
- Chadwick, Henry. "Origenes, A Great Christian Thinker," The Listener, (July 8, 1954), 66-67.
- _____. "Origen, Celsus, and the Stoa," The Journal of Theological Studies, XLVIII (1947).
- Clark, Donald L. "Rhetoric and Literature of the English Middle Ages," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLV (February, 1959), 19-28.
- Cross, G. "The Motive of Theology," Journal of Religion, II (1922), 380-401.
- Cushman, R.E. "Faith and Reason in the Thought of St. Augustine," Church History, XIX (December, 1950), 271-294.

- Dieter, Otto A. "Arbor Picta: The Medieval Tree of Preaching," Quarterly Journal of Speech, LI (April, 1965), 123-144.
- Ehninger, Douglas. "Campbell, Blair, and Whately Revisited," Southern Speech Journal, XXVIII (Spring, 1963), 169-182.
- Florovsky, George. "Origen, Eusebius, and the Iconoclastic Controversy," Church History, XIX (June, 1950), 77-96.
- Hanson, R.P.C. "Origen's Doctrine of Tradition," The Journal of Theological Studies, XLIX (1948), 17-27.
- Hudson, Hoyt H. "The Field of Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech, IX (1923), 167.
- Hunt, Everett L. "An Introduction to Classical Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XII (1926), 201.
- Jenkins, C.L. "The Origen-Citations in Cramer's Catena on I Corinthians," Journal of Theological Studies, VI (1904), 113-116.
- _____. "Origen on I Corinthians," Journal of Theological Studies, IX (1908), 231-247, 253-372, 500-514.
- McKeon, Richard. "Rhetoric in the Middle Ages," Speculum, XVII (January, 1942), 1-32.
- Meador, Prentice A., Jr. "A Medieval Tradition in Preaching; the Homily," The Restoration Quarterly, X, No. II (Second Quarter, 1967).
- Metcalf, W. "Origen's Exhortation to Martyrdom and Fourth Maccabees," Journal of Theological Studies, XXII (1921), 268-269.
- Murphy, James J. "The Arts of Discourse, 1050-1400," Medieval Studies, XXIII (1961), 194-205.

- _____. "Saint Augustine and the Debate About a Christian Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XLVI (1960), 400-410.
- _____. "The Medieval Arts of Discourse: An Introductory Bibliography," Speech Monographs, XXIX (June, 1962) 71-78.
- _____. "Rhetoric in Fourteenth Century Oxford," Medium Aevum, XXIV (1965), 1-20.
- _____. "Saint Augustine and Rabanus Maurus: The Genesis of Medieval Rhetoric," Western Speech, XXXI (Spring, 1967), 88-96.
- Oroz, J. (Madrid). "La Retorica Augustiniana: Clasicismo Y Cristianismo," Studia Patristica, VI, Part IV (ed. F.L. Cross, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1962), 484-495.
- Oulton, J.E. "Rufinus' Translation of the Church History of Eusebius," Journal of Theological Studies, XXX (January, 1929), 150-174.
- Outler, Albert C. "Origen and the Regulae Fidei," Church History, VIII (September, 1939), 212-221.
- Ramsbotham, A. "The Commentary of Origen on the Epistle to the Romans," Journal of Theological Studies, XIII (1912-1913), 10-22.
- Richardson, Cyril C. "The Condemnation of Origen," Church History, VI (March, 1937), 50-65.
- Sedgwick, W.R. "The Origin of the Sermon," The Hibbert Journal, XLV No. 2 (January, 1947), 158-164.
- Smith, Alfred J. "The Commentary of Pelagius on 'Romans' Compared with that of Origen-Rufinus," Journal of Theological Studies, XX (1918-1919), 162-230.
- Smith, H. "Some Catenae Fragments of Origen's Commentary on Matthew," Journal of Theological Studies, XVII (1915), 101-103.

Tade, George T. "Rhetorical Aspects of the Spiritual Exercises in the Medieval Tradition of Preaching," Quarterly Journal of Speech, LI (December, 1965), 409-418.

Tasker, R.V.G. "The Quotations from the Synoptic Gospels in Origen's Exhortation to Martyrdom," Journal of Theological Studies, XXXVI (1935), 60-65.

_____. "The Text of the Fourth Gospel Used by Origen in His Commentary on John," Journal of Theological Studies, XXXVII (1936), 146-155.

_____. "Text of St. Matthew Used by Origen in His Commentary on St. Matthew," Journal of Theological Studies, XXXVIII (1937), 60-64.

Turner, C.H. "Notes on the Text of Origen's Commentary on I Corinthians," Journal of Theological Studies, X (1909), 270-276.

_____. "Origen 'Scholia in Apocalypsin'," Journal of Theological Studies, XXV (1924), 1-16.

Whale, John S. "Celsus," The Expository Times, XLII (1930-1931), 119-124.

Wilkinson, J.D. "A Defense of Origenistic Allegory," Studia Patristica, VI, Part IV (ed. F.L. Cross, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1962), 264-268.

Unpublished Material

Cloonan, Father Benignus. "The Effect of Classical Rhetoric Upon Christian Preaching During the First Five Centuries A.D." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State, 1959.

Corts, Thomas Edward. "Origen's Contra Celsum: An Analysis of Early Christian Polemic." Unpublished Master's thesis, Indiana University, 1966.

Driscoll, Rev. John. "St. Augustine's Doctrine of Truth." Unpublished Master's thesis, The Catholic University of Chicago, 1927.

Eskridge, M.B. "The Influence of Cicero Upon St. Augustine in His Theory for the Training of an Ecclesiastical Orator." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1927.

Harris, Carl Vernon. "Origen of Alexandria's Interpretation of the Teacher's Function in the Early Christian Hierarchy and Community." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1952.

Stenberg, Odin Kenneth. "Origen and His Doctrine of Eternal Generation." Unpublished Bachelor of Theology thesis, Lutheran Theological Seminary, St. Paul, 1947.

Wessener, Wayne I. "The Dispositio of Ante-Nicene Preaching." Unpublished Master's thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, June 1961.

APPENDIX I

LETTER OF ORIGEN TO GREGORY¹

All hail to thee in God, most excellent and reverend Sir, son Gregory, from Origen. A natural quickness of understanding is fitted, as you are well aware, if it be diligently exercised, to produce a work which may bring its owner so far as is possible, if I may so express myself, to the consummation of the art the which he desires to practise, and your natural aptitude is sufficient to make you a consummate Roman lawyer and a Greek philosopher too of the most famous schools. But my desire for you has been that you should direct the whole force of your intelligence to Christianity as your end, and that in the way of production. And I would wish that you should take with you on the one hand those parts of the philosophy of the Greeks which are fit, as it were, to serve as general or preparatory studies for Christianity, and on the other hand so much of Geometry and Astronomy as may be helpful for the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. The children of the philosophers speak of geometry and music and grammar and rhetoric and astronomy as being ancillary to philosophy; and in the same way we might speak of philosophy itself as

being ancillary to Christianity.

It is something of this sort perhaps that is enigmatically indicated in the directions God is represented in the Book of Exodus² as giving to the children of Israel. They are directed to beg from their neighbours and from those dwelling in their tents vessels of silver and of gold, and raiment; thus they are to spoil the Egyptians, and to obtain materials for making the things they are told to provide in connection with the worship of God. For out of the things of which the children of Israel spoiled the Egyptians the furniture of the Holy of Holies was made, the ark with its cover, and the cherubim and the mercy-seat and the gold jar in which the manna, the bread of angels, was stored. These probably were made from the finest of the gold of the Egyptians, and from a second quality, perhaps, the solid golden candlestick which stood near the inner veil, and the lamps on it, and the golden table on which stood the shewbread, and between these two the golden altar of incense. And if there was gold of a third and of a fourth quality, the sacred vessels were made of it. And of the Egyptian silver, too, other things were made; for it was from their sojourn in Egypt that the children of

Israel derived the great advantage of being supplied with such a quantity of precious materials for the use of the service of God. Out of the Egyptian raiment probably were made all those requisites named in Scripture in embroidered work; the embroiderers working with the wisdom of God,³ such garments for such purposes, to produce the hangings and the inner and outer courts. This is not a suitable opportunity to enlarge on such a theme or to show in how many ways the children of Israel found those things useful which they got from the Egyptians. The Egyptians had not made a proper use of them; but the Hebrews used them, for the wisdom of God was with them, for religious purposes. Holy Scripture knows, however, that it was an evil thing to descend from the land of the children of Israel into Egypt; and in this a great truth is wrapped up. For some it is of evil that they should dwell with the Egyptians, that is to say, with the learning of the world, after they have been enrolled in the law of God and in the Israelite worship of Him. Ader the Edomite,⁴ as long as he was in the land of Israel and did not taste the bread of the Egyptians, made no idols; but when he fled from the wise Solomon and went down into Egypt, as one who had fled from the wisdom of God he became connected with Pharaoh, marrying the sister

of his wife, and begetting a son who was brought up among the sons of Pharaoh. Therefore, though he did go back to the land of Israel, he came back to it to bring division into the people of God, and to cause them to say to the golden calf, "These are thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." I have learned by experience and can tell you that there are few who have taken of the useful things of Egypt and come out of it, and have then prepared what is required for the service of God; but Ader the Edomite on the other hand has many a brother. I mean those who, founding on some piece of Greek learning, have brought forth heretical ideas, and have as it were made golden calves in Bethel, which is, being interpreted, the house of God. This appears to me to be intended to convey that such persons set up their own images in the Scriptures in which the Word of God dwells, and which therefore are tropically called Bethel. The other image is said in the word to have been set up in Dan. Now the borders of Dan are at the extremities and are contiguous to the country of the heathens, as is plainly recorded in the Book of Jesus, son of Nave. Some of these images, then, are close to the borders of the heathen, which the brothers,

as we showed, of Ader have devised.

Do you then, sir, my son, study first of all the divine Scriptures. Study them I say. For we require to study the divine writings deeply, lest we should speak of them faster than we think; and while you study these divine works with a believing and God-pleasing intention, knock at that which is closed in them, and it shall be opened to thee by the porter, of whom Jesus says,⁵ "To him the porter openeth." While you attend to this divine reading seek aright and with unwavering faith in God the hidden sense which is present in most passages of the divine Scriptures. And do not be content with knocking and seeking, for what is most necessary for understanding divine things is prayer, and in urging us to this the Saviour says not only,⁶ "Knock, and it shall be opened to you," and "Seek, and ye shall find," but also "Ask, and it shall be given you." So much I have ventured on account of my fatherly love to you. Whether I have ventured well or not, God knows, and His Christ, and he who has part of the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ. May you partake in these; may you have an always increasing share of them, so that you may be able to say not only, "We are partakers of Christ,"⁷ but also "We are partakers of God."

¹Origen, "Letter of Origen to Gregory," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, trans. Allan Menzies (Grand Rapids, 1965), X, 295-296.

²Exodus ix. 2.

³Exodus xxxi. 3, 6; xxxvi. I, 2, 8.

⁴I Kings xi. 14 (Hadad). Origen confuses him with Jeroboam.

⁵John x. 3.

⁶Matt. vii. 7.

⁷Heb. iii. 14.

5

APPENDIX II

SÉLECTIONS FROM THE ORATION AND PANEGYRIC

ADDRESSED TO ORIGEN¹

From the very first day of his receiving us (which day was, in truth, the first day to me, and the most precious of all days, if I may so speak, since then for the first time the true Sun began to rise upon me,) while we, like some wild creatures of the fields, or like fish, or some sort of birds that had fallen into the toils or nets, and were endeavouring to slip out again and escape, were bent on leaving him, and making off for Berytus or our native country, he studied by all means to associate us closely with him, contriving all kinds of arguments, and putting every rope in motion (as the proverb goes,) and bringing all his powers to bear on that object. With that intent he lauded the lovers of philosophy with large laudations and many noble utterances, declaring that those only live a life truly worthy or reasonable creatures who aim at living an upright life, and who seek to know first of all themselves, what manner of persons they are, and then the things that are truly good, which man ought to strive after, and then the things that are really evil, from which man

ought to flee. And then he reprehended ignorance and all the ignorant and there are many such, who, like brute cattle, are blind in mind, and have no understanding even of what they are, and are as far astray as though they were wholly void of reason, and neither know themselves what is good and what is evil, nor care at all to learn it from others, but toil feverishly in quest of wealth, and glory, and such honours as belong to the crowd, and bodily comfort, and go distraught about things like these, as if they were the real good. And as though such objects were worth much, yea, worth all else, they prize the things themselves, and the arts by which they can acquire them, and the different lines of life which give scope for their attainment, --the military profession, to wit, and the juridical, and the study of the laws. And with earnest and sagacious words he told us that these are the objects that enervate us, when we despise that reason which ought to be the true master within us. I cannot recount at present all the addresses of this kind which he delivered to us, with the view of persuading us to take up the pursuit of philosophy. Nor was it only for a single day that he thus dealt with us, but for many days, and, in fact, as often as we were in the habit of going to him at the outset; and we were

pierced by his argumentation as with an arrow from the very first occasion of our hearing him (for he was possessed of a rare combination of a certain sweet grace and persuasiveness, along with a strange power of constraint,) though we still wavered and debated the matter undecidedly with ourselves, holding so far by the pursuit of philosophy, without however being brought thoroughly over to it, while somehow or other we found ourselves quite unable to withdraw from it conclusively, and thus were always drawn towards him by the power of his reasonings, as by the force of some superior necessity. For he asserted further that there could be no genuine piety towards the Lord of all in the man who despised this gift of philosophy,--a gift which man alone of all the creatures of the earth has been deemed honourable and worthy enough to possess, and one which every man whatsoever, be he wise or be he ignorant, reasonably embraces, who has not utterly lost the power of thought by some mad distraction of mind. He asserted, then, as I have said, that it was not possible (to speak correctly) for any one to be truly pious who did not philosophize. And thus he continued to do with us, until, by pouring in upon us many such argumentations, one after the other, he at last carried us fairly off somehow or other by a kind of

divine power, like people with his reasonings, and established us (in the practice of philosophy,) and set us down without the power of movement, as it were, beside himself by his arts. Moreover, the stimulus of friendship was also brought to bear upon us, --a stimulus, indeed, not easily withstood, but keen and most effective, --the argument of a kind and affectionate disposition, which showed itself benignantly in his words when he spoke to us and associated with us. For he did not aim merely at getting round us by any kind of reasoning; but his desire was, with a benignant, and affectionate, and most benevolent mind, to save us, and make us partakers in the blessings that flow from philosophy, and most especially also in those other gifts which the Deity has bestowed on him above most men, or, as we may perhaps say, above all men of our own time. I mean the power that teaches us piety, the word of salvation, that comes to many, and subdues to itself all whom it visits: for there is nothing that shall resist it, inasmuch as it is and shall be itself the king of all; although as yet it is hidden, and is not recognised, whether with ease or with difficulty, by the common crowd, in such wise that, when interrogated respecting it, they should be able to speak intelligently about it. And thus, like some spark lighting

upon our inmost soul, love was kindled and burst into flame within us, --a love at once to the Holy Word, the most lovely object of all, who attracts all irresistibly toward Himself by His unutterable beauty, and to this man, His friend and advocate. And being most mightily smitten by this love, I was persuaded to give up all those objects or pursuits which seem to us befitting, and among others even my boasted jurisprudence, --yea, my very fatherland and friends, both those who were present with me then, and those from whom I had parted. And in my estimation there arose but one object dear and worth desire, --to wit, philosophy, and that master of philosophy, this inspired man. "And the soul of Jonathan was knit with David." This word, indeed, I did not read till afterwards in the sacred Scriptures; but I felt it before that time, not less clearly than it is written: for, in truth, it reached me then by the clearest of all revelations. For it was not simply Jonathan that was knit with David; but those things were knit together which are the ruling powers in man--their souls,--those objects which, even though all the things which are apparent and ostensible in man are severed, cannot by any skill be forced to a severance when they themselves are unwilling. For the soul is free, and cannot be

coerced by any means, not even though one should confine it and keep guard over it in some secret prison-house. For wherever the intelligence is, there it is also of its own nature and by the first reason. And if it seems to you to be in a kind of prison-house, it is represented as there to you by a sort of second reason. But for all that, it is by no means precluded from subsisting anywhere according to its own determination; nay, rather it is both able to be, and is reasonably believed to be, there alone and altogether, wheresoever and in connection with what things soever those actions which are proper only to it are in operation. Wherefore, what I experienced has been most clearly declared in this very short statement, that "the soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David;" objects which, as I said, cannot by any means be forced to a separation against their will, and which of their own inclination certainly will not readily choose it. Nor is it, in my opinion, in the inferior subject, who is changeful and very prone to vary in purpose, and in whom singly there has been no capacity of union at first, that the power of loosing the sacred bonds of this affection rests, but rather in the nobler one, who is constant and not readily shaken, and through whom it has been possible to tie these bonds and to fasten this

sacred knot. Therefore it is not the soul of David that was knit by the divine word with the soul of Jonathan; but, on the contrary, the soul of the latter, who was the inferior, is said to be thus affected and knit with the soul of David. For the nobler object would not choose to be knit with one inferior, inasmuch as it is sufficient for itself; but the inferior object, as standing in need of the help which the nobler can give, ought properly to be knit with the nobler, and fitted dependently to it: so that this latter, retaining still its sufficiency in itself, might sustain no loss by its connection with the inferior; and that which is of itself without order being now united and fitted harmoniously with the nobler, might, without any detriment done, be perfectly subdued to the nobler by the constraints of such bonds. Wherefore, to apply the bonds is part of the superior, and not of the inferior; but to be knit to the other is the part of the inferior, and this too in such a manner that it shall possess no power of loosing itself from these bonds. And hence it follows that, even though we were to depart, he would not release this soul of mine, which, as the Holy Scripture puts it, he holds knit so closely with himself.²

But after he had thus carried us captive at the very outset, and had shut us in, as it were, on all sides, and when what was best had been accomplished by him, and when it seemed good to us to remain with him for a time, then he took us in hand, as a skilled husbandman may take in hand some field unwrought, and altogether unfertile, and sour, and burnt up, and hard as a rock, and rough, or, it may be, one not utterly barren or unproductive, but rather, perchance, by nature very productive, though then waste and neglected, and stiff and untractable with thorns and wild shrubs; or as a gardener may take in hand some plant which is wild indeed, and which yields no cultivated fruits, though it may not be absolutely worthless, and on finding it thus, may, by his skill in gardening, bring some cultivated shoot and graft it in, by making a fissure in the middle, and then bringing the two together, and binding the one to the other, until the sap in each shall flow in one stream, and they shall both grow with the same nurture: for one may often see a tree of a mixed and worthless species thus rendered productive in spite of its past barrenness, and made to rear the fruits of the good olive on wild roots; or one may see a wild plant saved from being altogether profitless by the skill of a careful gardener;

or, once more, one may see a plant which otherwise is one both of culture and of fruitfulness, but which, through the want of skilled attendance, has been left unpruned and unwatered and waste, and which is thus choked by the mass of superfluous growth. In suchwise, then, and with such a disposition did he receive us at first; and surveying us, as it were, with a husbandman's skill, and gauging us thoroughly, and not confining his notice to those things only which are patent to the eye of all, and which are looked upon in open light, but penetrating into us more deeply, and probing what is most inward in us, he put us to the question, and made propositions to us, and listened to us in our replies; and whenever he thereby detected anything in us not wholly fruitless and profitless and waste, he set about clearing the soil, and turning it up and irrigating it, and putting all things in movement, and brought his whole skill and care to bear on us, and wrought upon our mind. And thorns and thistles, and every kind of wild herb or plant which our mind (so unregulated and precipitate in its own action) yielded and produced in its uncultured luxuriance and native wildness, he cut out and thoroughly removed by the processes of refutation and prohibition; sometimes assailing us in the genuine Socratic

fashion, and again upsetting us by his argumentation whenever he saw us getting restive under him, like so many unbroken steeds, and springing out of the course and galloping madly about at random, until with a strange kind of persuasiveness and constraint he reduced us to a state of quietude under him by his discourse, which acted like a bridle in our mouth. And that was at first an unpleasant position for us, and one not without pain, as he dealt with persons who were unused to it, and still all untrained to submit to reason, when he plied us with his argumentations; and yet he purged us by them. And when he had made us adaptable, and had prepared us successfully for the reception of the words of truth, then, further, as though we were now a soil well wrought and soft, and ready to impart growth to the seeds cast into it, he dealt liberally with us, and sowed the good seed in season, and attended to all the other cares of the good husbandry, each in its own proper season. And whenever he perceived any element of infirmity or baseness in our mind (whether it was of that character by nature, or had become thus gross through the excessive nurture of the body,) he pricked it with his discourses, and reduced it by those delicate words and turns of reasoning which, although at first the very simp-

lest, are gradually evolved one after the other, and skillfully wrought out, until they advance to a sort of complexity which can scarce be mastered or unfolded, and which caused us to start up, as it were, out of sleep, and teach us the art of holding always by what is immediately before one, without ever making any slip by reason either of length, or of subtlety. And if there was in us anything of an unjudicious and precipitate tendency, whether in the way of assenting to all that came across us, of whatever character the objects might be, and even though they proved false, or in the way of often withstanding other things, even though they were spoken truthfully, --that, too, he brought under discipline in us by those delicate reasonings already mentioned, and by others of like kind (for this branch of philosophy is of varied form,) and accustomed us not to throw in our testimony at one time, and again to refuse it, just at random, and as chance impelled, but to give it only after careful examination not only into things manifest, but also into those that are secret. For many things which are in high repute of themselves, and honourable in appearance, have found entrance through fair words into our ears, as though they were true, while yet they were hollow and false, and have borne off and taken

possession of the suffrage of truth at our hand, and then, no long time afterwards, they have been discovered to be corrupt and unworthy of credit, and deceitful borrowers of the garb of truth; and have thus too easily exposed us as men who are ridiculously deluded, and who bear their witness inconsiderately to things which ought by no means to have won it. And, on the contrary, other things which are really honourable and the reverse of impositions, but which have not been expressed in plausible statements, and thus have the appearance of being paradoxical and most incredible, and which have been rejected as false on their own showing, and held up undeservedly to ridicule, have afterwards on careful investigation and examination, been discovered to be the truest of all things, and wholly incontestable, though for a time spurned and reckoned false. Not simply, then, by dealing with things patent and prominent, which are sometimes, delusive and sophistical, but also by teaching us to search into things within us, and to put them all individually to the test, lest any of them should give back a hollow sound, and by instructing us to make sure of these inward things first of all, he trained us to give our assent to outward things only then and thus, to express our opinion on all these severally. In this way,

that capacity of our mind which deals critically with words and reasonings, was educated in a rational manner; not according to the judgments of illustrious rhetoricians-- whatever Greek or foreign honour appertains to that title-- for theirs is a discipline of little value and no necessity: but in accordance with that which is most needful for all, whether Greek or outlandish, whether wise or illiterate, and, in fine, not to make a long statement by going over every profession and pursuit separately, in accordance with that which is most indispensable for all men, whatever manner of life they have chosen, if it is indeed the care and interest of all who have to converse on any subject whatever with each other, to be protected against deception.³

Nor did he confine his efforts merely to that form of the mind which it is the lot of the dialectic to regulate; but he also took in hand that humble capacity of mind, (which shows itself) in our amazement at the magnitude, and the wondrousness, and the magnificent and absolutely wise construction of the world, and in our marvelling in a reasonless way, and in our being overpowered with fear, and in our knowing not, like the irrational creatures, what conclusion to come to. That, too, he aroused and corrected

by other studies in natural science, illustrating and distinguishing the various divisions of created objects, and with admirable clearness reducing them to their pristine elements, taking them all up perspicuously in his discourse, and going over the nature of the whole; and of each several section, and discussing the multiform revolution and mutation of things in the world, until he carried us fully along with him under his clear teaching; and by those reasonings which he had partly learned from others, and partly found out for himself, he filled our minds with a rational instead of an irrational wonder at the sacred economy of the universe, and irreproveable constitution of all things. This is that sublime and heavenly study which is taught by natural philosophy--a science most attractive to all. And what need is there now to speak of the sacred mathematics, viz., geometry, so precious to all and above all controversy, and astronomy, whose course is on high? These different studies he imprinted on our understandings, training us in them, or calling them into our mind, or doing with us something else which I know not how to designate rightly. And the one he presented lucidly as the immutable groundwork and secure foundation of all, namely geometry; and by the other, namely astronomy, he lifted us

up to the things that are highest above us, while he made heaven passable to us by the help of each of these sciences, as though they were ladders reaching the skies.⁴

He was also the first and only man that urged me to study the philosophy of the Greeks, and persuaded me by his own moral example both to hear and to hold by the doctrine of morals, while as yet I had by no means been won over to that, so far as other philosophers were concerned (I again acknowledge it,)--not rightly so, indeed, but unhappily, as I may say without exaggeration, for me. I did not, however, associate with many at first, but only with some few who *professed to be teachers, though, in good sooth, they all established their philosophy only so far as words went. This man, however, was the first that induced me to philosophize by his words, as he pointed the exhortation by deeds before he gave it in words, and did not merely recite well-studied sentences; nay, he did not deem it right to speak on the subject at all, but with a sincere mind, and one bent on striving ardently after the practical accomplishment of the things expressed, and he endeavoured all the while to show himself in character like the man whom he describes in his discourses as the person who shall lead a noble life, and he ever exhibited (in himself), I would say, the

pattern of the wise man. But as our discourse at the outset proposed to deal with the truth, and not with vain-glorious language, I shall not speak of him now as the exemplar of the wise man. And yet, if I chose to speak thus of him, I should not be far astray from the truth. Nevertheless, I pass that by at present. I shall not speak of him as a perfect pattern, but as one who vehemently desires to imitate the perfect pattern, and strives after it with zeal and earnestness, even beyond the capacity of men, if I may so express myself; and who labours, moreover, also to make us, who are so different, of like character with himself, not mere masters and apprehenders of the bald doctrines concerning the impulses of the soul, but masters and apprehenders of these impulses themselves. And he educated us to prudence none the less, --teaching to be at home with ourselves, and to desire and endeavor to know ourselves, which indeed is the most excellent achievement of philosophy, the thing that is ascribed also to the most prophetic of spirits as the highest argument of wisdom--the precept, Know thyself.⁵

He deemed it right for us to study philosophy in such wise, that we should read with utmost diligence all that has been written, both by the philosophers and by the poets

of old, rejecting nothing, and repudiating nothing (for, indeed, we did not yet possess the power of critical discernment,) except only ~~the~~ productions of the atheists, who, in their conceits, lapse from the general intelligence of man, and deny that there is either a God or a providence. From these he would have us abstain, because they are not worthy of being read, and because it might chance that the soul within us that is meant for piety might be defiled by listening to words that are contrary to the worship of God. For even those who frequent the temples of piety, as they think them to be, are careful not to touch anything that is profane.⁶

To secure us against falling into the unhappy experience of most, he did not introduce us to any one exclusive school of philosophy; nor did he judge it proper for us to go away with any single class of philosophical opinions, but he introduced us to all, and determined that we should be ignorant of no kind of Grecian doctrine. And he himself went on with us, preparing the way before us, and leading us by the hand, as on a journey, whenever anything tortuous and unsound and delusive came in our way. And he helped us like a skilled expert who has had long familiarity with such subjects, and is not strange or inexperienced in

anything of the kind, and who therefore may remain safe in his own altitude, while he stretches forth his hand to others, and effects their security too, as one drawing up the submerged. Thus did he deal with us, selecting and setting before us all that was useful and true in all the various philosophers, and putting aside all that was false. And this he did for us, both in other branches of man's knowledge, and most especially in all that concerns piety.⁷

That greatest gift this man has received from God, and that noblest of all endowments he has had bestowed upon him from heaven, that he should be an interpreter of the oracles of God to men, and that he might understand the words of God, even as if God spake them to him, and that he might recount them to men in such wise as that they may hear them with intelligence. Therefore to us there was no forbidden subject of speech; for there was no matter of knowledge hidden or inaccessible to us, but we had it in our power to learn every kind of discourse, both foreign and Greek, both spiritual and political, both divine and human; and we were permitted with all freedom to go round the whole circle of knowledge, and investigate it, and satisfy ourselves with all kinds of doctrines, and enjoy the sweets of intellect. And whether it was some ancient system of

truth, or whether it was something one might otherwise name that was before us, we had in him an apparatus and a power at once admirable and full of the most beautiful views.

And to speak in brief, he was truly a paradise to us, after the similitude of the paradise of God, wherein we were not set indeed to till the soil beneath us, or to make ourselves gross with bodily nurture, but only to increase the acquisitions of mind with all gladness and enjoyment, --planting, so to speak, some fair growths ourselves, or having them planted in us by the Author of all things.⁸

¹Gregory Thaumaturgus, "Oration and Panegyric Addressed to Origen," *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, trans. S.D.F. Salmond, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (New York, 1926), VI, 21-39. References at end of various passages indicates page from which passage is selected.

²pp. 27-28.

³pp. 28-30.

⁴p. 30.

⁵pp. 32-33.

⁶p. 34.

⁷pp. 35-36.

⁸p. 36.